



# ***Daily Report***

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

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Wednesday  
16 October 1991

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-APR-91-200

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## Burundi

### Government To Scrap State Security Court

EA1110222691 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale  
du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Excerpts] A meeting of the members of the government, chaired by the prime minister and minister of planning, Mr. Adrien Sibomana, has been held in the framework of the weekly meeting of the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

The first dossier was presented by the minister of justice. It concerns a draft law relating to the repeal of the law of 17 April 1980 covering the creation and organization of the State Security Court. Today the minister of justice spoke about it in an interview with journalists of the national radio-television. Clement Kirahagaze summarizes the interview:

[Begin recording] [Kirahagaze] ...abrogation of the decree of the 17 April 1980 related to the creation and organization of the State Security Court: [Justice Minister] Sebastien Ntahuga told us why the text had to be scrapped:

[Ntahuga] First [words indistinct]. Second, today there is no political [words indistinct].

[Kirahagaze] Of its nature, the State Security Court was an exceptional court (?with) exceptional responsibilities. In particular, its decisions were not subject to appeal. Today, the minister said, there is a need to provide the right of defense and the possibility of one exercising [rights]. The legislator would also like to avoid exceptional situations that could create tensions within the country. The State Security Court had become incompatible with the current political process, which features transparency. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## Central African Republic

### Former Minister Faces Murder, Arson Charges

AB1110220591 Paris AFP in English 1405 GMT  
11 Oct 91

[Text] Bangui, Oct 11 (AFP) - Murder and arson charges have been laid in Central African Republic against General Francois Bozize, who was cleared by the high court last month of involvement in a failed coup in 1982, officials said here Friday [11 October].

The charges relate to incidents between 1984 and 1987. The country's senior investigating magistrate was handling the case and Bozize was supposed to appear before the criminal court this month, the sources said.

Bozize's acquittal on all political charges followed an amnesty in April by President Andre Kolingba, but he was kept in detention where he had been held since September 1989 when he was brought back from refuge in Benin in circumstances which remain unclear.

A minister under onetime "Emperor" Bokassa, Bozize was named vice-president of a government-in-exile set up in 1984 by former members of the Kolingba military regime.

### Pupils, Students Stage Protest Demonstration

AB1510111591 Paris AFP in French 1308 GMT  
14 Oct 91

[Text] Bangui, 14 Oct (AFP)—About 50 pupils and students demonstrated in Bangui this morning in protest against the risks of another invalid academic year. They also called for the holding of a national conference, it was learned in the Central African capital.

The pupils and students waved banners calling for the release of one of the members of the pupil and student coordination movement currently detained by police.

The security forces dispersed the demonstrators at about 100 meters away from the Presidential Palace toward which they were moving. No incidents were reported.

Teachers have been on strike for several months now in protest against delays in the payment of their salaries. Students have demonstrated several times over the past few months to demand a general amnesty, and the fixing of a date for the national conference.

## Gabon

### Canada's Mulroney Arrives for Visit, Talks

AB1310155391 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
0730 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] The Canadian prime minister arrived in Libreville yesterday afternoon for a two-day visit to Gabon. During his stay in the Gabonese capital, Brian Mulroney will hold discussions with authorities, including President Omar Bongo and Prime Minister Casimir Oye-Mba, on fishing, oil exploration, forestry resource exploitation, and aid to small- and medium-scale enterprises. Canada is also preparing to begin work on the extension to the Gabonese Foreign Ministry building and to build two provincial hospitals.

### Mulroney Ends Visit; Criticizes Zaire

AB1410072091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1830 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] The head of the Canadian Government, Brian Mulroney, today ended his 24-hour visit to Libreville. The Canadian prime minister is presently on his way to Zimbabwe where he will take part in the Commonwealth summit next week.

Questioned today at a news conference on relations between his country and Gabon, Brian Mulroney described them as excellent. According to him, cooperation between the two countries will be more geared toward the technical and industrial sectors.

The Canadian prime minister also welcomed the political development process in Gabon, adding that democratic changes are not always easy. In this respect, it must be recalled that the West links development aid to democratization in Africa. Many countries have already started democratic reforms. Can these countries expect a democratization premium from Canada? Here is the answer of the head of the Canadian Government at the press conference before his departure from Libreville:

[Begin recording] I intend to speak about this issue at the Commonwealth summit in a few days. We are increasingly concerned about human rights abuses and the priority of human rights is for us the cornerstone of our foreign policy. We will do all in our power to promote the interests of individuals and the protection of their most fundamental rights. I mentioned the remarkable progress achieved in certain countries, including Gabon. There is, however, room for progress. The president said this himself in other circumstances. But during my address at the Commonwealth summit a few days hence, I will propose that every effort be made to protect human rights. [end recording]

Brian Mulroney, the Canadian prime minister, also touched on the situation in Zaire. Canada, he stressed, refused to take part in the Francophone summit that was initially scheduled to take place in Kinshasa, the Zairian capital. This refusal was motivated mainly by the human rights issue:

[Begin recording] I said in June 1990 at the G-7 summit in Houston that in view of events in Zaire, Canada had no intention to attend a Francophone summit in Zaire. Canada refused to take part in a summit in Zaire on account of the violation of the most fundamental human rights and if the Francophone summit insisted on holding its conference in Zaire, Canada would not participate. I refused any interventions by the Zairian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and this has since been by government's stand. Several African heads of state, despite their difficulties, informed me about their intention to support my stand.

For reasons known to us, the decision to hold the summit in Zaire was changed and it will now take place in France in November. I think this is very good because it would have been unthinkable for Canada to accept a Francophone summit, where we would speak about human rights, in a country where human rights are being trampled upon. I have spoken to you frankly about this matter. I find the situation scandalous and unacceptable. That is the my government's and my personal stand. [end recording]

### Rwanda

#### Habyarimana Appoints Justice Minister as Premier

*E.11210202091 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 12 Oct 91*

[Text] The president of the republic, Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, at (?1900) today chaired a meeting of his ministers at the 5th of July Hotel in Kigali.

The president of the republic informed the ministers that he had appointed Justice Minister Mr. Sylvestre Nsanzimana as prime minister in accordance with Article 44 of the Constitution.

Mr. Sylvestre Nsanzimana will officially take up his post when he and his government are sworn in before the president and in the presence of the National Assembly, as provided for in the Constitution. The current government will continue to function normally until then.

#### Habyarimana on Responsibilities

*E.11410200091 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in English 1430 GMT 14 Oct 91*

[Excerpts] The president of the Republic, Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, yesterday officially opened the academic year 1991-1992 at [word indistinct] campus and conferred degrees to 585 laureates of the National University of Rwanda. On this occasion, the president of the Republic delivered a very important speech addressing the academics and the whole nation. Our colleague Charles [last name indistinct] (?will give) the highlights of the presidential speech.

[Correspondent] [passage omitted] The president of the Republic focused on the political arena prevailing in our country, especially on the multiparty democracy which the country has adopted. The [words indistinct] was declared on 10 June this year, said the president, which allowed the process of pluralism in which five political parties have officially started operating in the country.

In order to implement the adopted process of democratization based on the multiparty system, the president of the Republic told the students about his recent appointment of the prime minister, Mr. Sylvestre Nsanzimana, as it was [word indistinct] by the 44th Article of the national Constitution.

On matters concerning the formation of a new transitional government, the president said he demanded the new prime minister to form a government represented by all political parties. The president further wished the prime minister to appoint the best people shown by the spirit of nationalism and solidarity of the country in order for the new government to be able to solve the problems of the country.

On the same issue concerning the new government, the president indicated the four major problems which the transitional government will solve immediately. First would be the political dialogue with the Rwandese Patriotic Front [RPF] in order to end the war and also to arrange the next elections for future country's [as received] democratic leadership based on the multiparty (?free) elections.

The second point would be the implementation of the repatriating of all the Rwandese refugees and to put in action the ongoing economic procedure of structural adjustment which our country adopted. The president of

the Republic also [word indistinct] his goodwill for the peace negotiations and the exchange of constructive ideas which would as well contribute to eliminate the war and for [words indistinct] of the entire country. [passage omitted including indistinct portions]

On the same occasion, the president announced [word indistinct] deduction of the university dues for the admission and free education for all students from the war-ravaged areas, especially orphans. [passage omitted]

Coming back to the prime minister, President Habyarimana said that his official responsibilities will start [word indistinct] the prime minister swears in the National Assembly and before the president of the Republic. He also advised the prime minister to set up a special committee which would immediately solve any urgent problems [word indistinct] the new government will face during the transition.

Concerning the multiparty elections, the president said that the most important would be the (?equal) representation of all parties in the National Assembly, while on the repatriation of the Rwandese refugees, the president in his opinion indicated an introduction of a good

welcome and security measures to be guaranteed to all refugees and a proper administrative council in charge of the repatriation of all refugees would be established and solve all the problems of the Rwandese refugees. [sentence as heard]

President Habyarimana also confirmed that the prime minister would do whatever possible to fulfill his official responsibilities and to put under his consideration [words indistinct] of the national security and the country's sovereignty.

On matters concerning the political pluralism which our country is [word indistinct], the president explained that he hoped much from the parties' conferences which will be the best way to combine our efforts during this [word indistinct] period of transition.

However, the president said, he will continue to respect the new constitution. President Habyarimana added that there is no way of solving the Rwandan problems without considering the national Constitution. The most important item in the Constitution, said the president, should be to respect the human rights and freedom of speech. [passage omitted]

**ANC Said Considering Apartheid Capital Levy***MB1310110291 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 13 Oct 91 p 2*

[By Bill Krige]

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] is considering an extraordinary proposal which would force South Africans to pay a one-off levy of a third of their assets to the state as compensation for apartheid.

The proposal was adopted by a working group at an ANC conference on affirmative action in Port Elizabeth at the weekend. The conference also proposed the deliberate creation of a "business crisis" to force corporations to submit to demands for affirmative action.

The capital levy proposal comes hard on the heels of statements last week by ANC leader Nelson Mandela that nationalisation was still an option, and a statement by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa that the ANC would "re-evaluate" foreign loans if it came to power.

Mr Trevor Manuel, the ANC's economics head, also made a strong pitch to American businessmen at a conference in the United States this week to continue disinvesting from South Africa.

Mr Heinz Klug, the ANC member who reported the decision of the working group to the conference, said taxpayers would be expected to pay off the levy over 10 years.

The money would be used to help disadvantaged communities.

Mr Klug was unable to provide further details of the proposal, but a rough estimate shows that a person with capital assets of R[and]500,000 would pay R16,700 a year to cover the levy.

A recent survey showed that half the white households in South Africa had net assets above R100,000. The annual levy on this amount would be R3,300.

Reporting back on committee discussions, Mr Klug said it was felt that any land reform process must include affirmative action. Beneficiaries ought to include the victims of forced removal (both rural and urban), the homeless, township residents, those displaced by violence, aspirant black farmers and tenants.

"The beneficiary would not be able to pay for it (the land). That would be the responsibility of the state," he said in proposing the one-third capital levy.

ANC speakers at the conference made it clear that to compensate for apartheid a future government would have to go beyond mere reparations—and have its actions enforceable by law.

In this process whites—"promoted beyond their level of competence" by a privileged past—would be forced into

a rapid surrender of land and political and economic power. If necessary measures as extreme as those invoked for a decade to reconstruct war-battered West Germany would have to be taken.

On affirmative action in the private sector, the conference heard that reparations would not be enough. The beneficiaries of any affirmative action "would be blacks, women, the disabled and anyone disadvantaged".

Affirmative action programmes should continue indefinitely and be made mandatory, speakers said.

ANC economist Don Mkwana said that South African business should be placed in a state of siege: "Affirmative action can never succeed on its own in South Africa. We must create a crisis.

"If businessmen continue to make large profits there will be no incentive for affirmative action."

Pressure had to be applied to the "pressure points" of business, such as profits, costs and customer service, to induce a crisis without which corporate South Africa would never submit.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer warned that the measure was intrinsically communist and hoped that the conference's recommendation would not be accepted by the senior leadership.

**Mandela: 'Capital Levy' Contrary***MB1310183891 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1753 GMT 13 Oct 91*

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town October 13 SAPA—A senior ANC [African National Congress] executive on Sunday denied the movement was considering, or that any of its organs had adopted, the concept of a levy on wealth to redress economic inequalities created by apartheid.

Such a proposal—that South Africans pay the state one third the value of their assets in a one-off tax on wealth—was raised at the ANC's first workshop conference on affirmative action held at Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

The proposal was given prominence in a weekend press report as having been adopted by the ANC working group and created "general alarm and dismay among property owners and other political parties [sentence as received].

A wealth levy would be totally contrary to the guidelines laid down by the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, himself, a top ANC participant in the workshop said in reaction to the report.

He said the reports were a "specious example of sensational journalism [as received]". The proposal was neither ANC policy nor a concrete position of the workshop.



"This is another case of trying to make bricks without straw," he said. There had been a commission report on various methods for the positive amelioration of the negative economic effects of apartheid. A wealth levy was one method presented at the workshop.

"Another example cited was the German one where a five percent tax is raised to pay for equalising the situation in the former East Germany."

These were merely avenues available such as diverting resources from non-remunerative or non-creative areas of the economy.

He agreed a wealth tax could not, in terms of the ANC's non-racialism policy, be applied to whites only and would therefore draw black homeowners into the net as well.

The ANC did believe, as with the issue of land, that the state had to intervene to compensate those who were deprived by apartheid. In the case of land it could, for instance, look at inefficient or unproductive farming or non-yield enterprises where game had been introduced as a source for redistribution.

"The government should intervene but there are various devices and they must be fair.

"As Mr Mandela said in his speech delivered to us, there must be an element of justice in any settlement. It must be broadly acceptable, rational, ethical and fair.

"We must not behave as the government behaved in the past to confiscate or act in a racially vindictive way—that will not be the policy of the ANC.

"There is no question of adopting a wealth levy as policy," he said.

#### **Further on Mandela Reaction**

MB1410140891 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1359 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 14 SAPA—ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela has denied weekend news reports saying the ANC was preparing a plan that would heavily tax wealthy South Africans.

Speaking to reporters at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg on Monday, Mr Mandela said: "It is certainly not the policy of the ANC. No such statement was made by the ANC."

The proposal, which would require people to pay a levy equivalent to one third of their assets to the government for uplifting the impoverished, was merely discussed at a seminar of an ANC committee on affirmative action in Port Elizabeth.

"It was not even taken up," Mr Mandela said. He said it was tragic that the journalist who had written the

weekend report had got his facts wrong despite having been present during the debate.

The whole matter was unfortunate, Mr Mandela said.

#### **Further Details on ANC Proposal**

MB1410171291 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1359 GMT 14 Oct 91

[By Hilka Birns]

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 14 SAPA—ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela has denied weekend news reports saying the ANC was preparing a plan that would heavily tax wealthy South Africans. Speaking to reporters at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg on Monday, Mr Mandela said: "It is certainly not the policy of the ANC. No such statement was made by the ANC."

The proposal, which would require people to pay a levy equivalent to one third of their assets to the government for uplifting the impoverished, was merely discussed at a seminar of an ANC committee on affirmative action in Port Elizabeth. "It was not even taken up," Mr Mandela said. He said it was tragic that the journalist who had written the weekend report had got his facts wrong despite having been present during the debate. The whole matter was unfortunate, Mr Mandela said.

The press report, which has caused alarm and dismay among property owners and other political parties, claimed the so-called "wealth tax" proposal was adopted at the weekend conference.

The report also said the meeting had proposed the deliberate creation of a "business crisis" to force companies to submit to demands for affirmative action.

The levy would be payable over a period of ten years and be imposed in addition to normal taxes.

If adopted, people with capital assets of R[and]500000 would pay R16700 a year and those with R100000 assets R3300 a year, the report said.

On Sunday, a top ANC [African National Congress] official who participated in the workshop but asked not to be named, denied to SAPA that the proposal was ANC policy or a concrete position of the conference.

"There is no question of adopting such a wealth levy as policy," he said.

A Johannesburg newspaper on Monday said ANC head of economic policy, Mr Max Sisulu, had however not repudiated the proposal.

Though it was not official ANC policy, Mr Sisulu had seen "nothing alarming" in the wealth tax plan, the paper said.

Mr Sisulu had however explained that the proposal was merely one of many suggestions which had emerged as

the ANC was looking for solutions to addressing the wealth imbalances in the country, the report said.

Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders have come under sharp criticism from the country's business community recently for issuing controversial and conflicting statements on South Africa's future economy.

On Saturday, Mr Mandela said though the ANC had no ideological attachment to nationalisation, it was the only effective way of ensuring an equal distribution of wealth.

"We say to the business community: If you have a better alternative tell us, and if it's effective, we'll abandon nationalisation," he told a business function in Durban.

Critics believe that a free-market system should be maintained to produce economic growth and to achieve the fastest upliftment of the country's impoverished black majority.

#### ANC Official on Wealth Tax Proposal

MB1410101891 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 14 Oct 91 p 1

[By Susan Russell]

[Text] A wealth tax was just one of a number of proposals which could be considered as a means of addressing SA's [South Africa] racial disparities, ANC [African National Congress] constitutional committee spokesman Dullah Omar said yesterday.

The issue was raised at a weekend conference arranged by the constitutional committee in Port Elizabeth on affirmative action. It was proposed that a levy equal to one third of individuals' assets be payable over 10 years.

Omar said the proposal had to be seen in the context of the purpose of the conference, which was to examine ways of eliminating disparities created by apartheid.

"This was not a policy-making conference, but was designed to place issues on the agenda for discussion," he said.

"We looked at methods which had been used in other countries. It appears it was a measure used highly successfully in West Germany to ensure orderly development."

"No specific details have been worked out," Omar said, "but we will certainly be looking into it."

Our political staff reports ANC economic policy committee member Don Mkwana said told the conference there was a necessity to create a "crisis" in business.

"If they continue to make huge profits there will be no incentive to implement affirmative action programmes," Mkwana said. He said affirmative action was an interim strategy—and did not involve compromising standards.

Sapa reports ANC president Nelson Mandela on Saturday told a function in Durban that the ANC was prepared to abandon its nationalisation policies if business could provide an alternative to redressing economic imbalances.

The ANC had gone out of its way to bring the business community into the debate, but business people had failed to provide an alternative.

#### Government Reacts to ANC Proposal

MB1410194891 Johannesburg S.A.P.A. in English  
1838 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Pretoria Oct 14 S.A.P.A.—The government will not approve the "arbitrary imposition of levies" and will take a firm stand on taxation and economic issues once constitutional negotiations get underway, it was announced in a statement on Monday.

The statement, by the deputy minister of finance, Dr Theo Alant, was apparently issued in response to reports that the ANC [African National Congress] is considering placing a once-off, one third levy of individuals' assets, payable over ten years, to redress apartheid's economic imbalances.

Dr Alant [made] it clear he would not be drawn on the issue, other than to say "the arbitrary imposition on levies would certainly not be approved".

"I do not wish, at this stage, to take issue with other political organizations about controversial proposals for redressing imbalances in the economy, but the government will take a firm stand on such matters once the negotiations for a new constitution and new political and economic dispensations begin in earnest."

The government therefore saw no need for making counter proposals to the one-third levy scheme, "nor for launching any campaign to discourage proposals of the above nature".

The statement said government was confident that the issues of economic inequality and redistribution of purchasing power could be adequately and reasonably redressed by means of economically sound measures "that would make a positive contribution to the economic reconstruction and future development of South Africa."

"The government's approach to these matters is based on earnest and in-depth studies of the issues involved. To this end, it would enlist the assistance of international organisations with experience in such fields and possible connections with financial resources which could be made available."

"Final decisions will, however, only be taken after all the parties concerned have been fully consulted."

### **Du Plessis Affirms Honoring International Debts**

*MB1110123391 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1106 GMT 11 Oct 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 11 SAPA—South African finance minister Mr Barend du Plessis has stated firmly that South Africa will continue to honour its international debt obligations.

Addressing a Hong Kong conference on post-apartheid South Africa the minister repeated the pledge made earlier by SA [South African] State President F.W. de Klerk that South Africa would honour its international debts both now and in the future.

In his speech released in Johannesburg he said: "Nor does this apply to only to the present transitional phase in our political evolution: the present government has both the will and the capability to ensure the safeguarding of this and other hard-won standards and values.

"We wish there to be no misunderstanding whatever on this point."

Minister Du Plessis also said attitudes of non-South African residents towards future economic and political developments in this country have improved for the better.

He stated: "It is therefore reasonable to assume that a post-sanctions SA economy will experience a more favourable balance of payments on the capital account than was the case in the period 1985 to 1990.

"In any event the actions of businessmen and investors have, in fact, begun to belie and negate the effect of sanctions still remaining. From that perspective, the loudly trumpeted claims by some parties that they will decide the tempo of sanctions lifting, now ring rather hollow."

Mr Du Plessis said that as trade sanctions are dismantled South Africa will benefit even further from the exploitation of export opportunities.

"Sanctions, in fact, brought out the best in our exporting community: Not only were most of our traditional markets retained, but new markets were developed to replace those lost.

"This is not to say that trade sanctions did not cause us irritations and inconvenience, but in the upshot they were a powerful force in channelling our initiative and expertise to new and profitable areas and to new heights of achievement."

Minister Du Plessis told the meeting that a post-sanctions South Africa will have to cope with daunting economic problems which will have to be solved by South African's themselves.

He said the problems were a very high unemployment rate, a high population growth rate, an equal distribution of income and wealth, low productivity, backlogs in education and training and massive claims for social upliftment.

The minister said that while the South African economy did have enormous potential, this could not be properly realised until business confidence was regained.

"It is to be hoped, therefore, that those spokesmen who are fond of economic sabre-rattling will accept the hard realities of the real world out there and recognise that no country owes another a living, that private enterprise is the main and only lasting engine of growth and that investors have to be wooed and not bludgeoned."

The minister said that while a quick turnaround in the South African economy could not be expected, the signs of a revival were already making themselves felt.

### **Says Unable To Aid African Nations**

*MB1110140491 Johannesburg South African  
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
1100 GMT 11 Oct 91*

[Text] The government says South Africa will not be able to give other countries in Africa financial assistance, because it is also in a process of development.

However, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said at a seminar in Hong Kong that economic cooperation should be strengthened with countries in southern Africa.

He said South Africa's financial situation had weakened in the past six months because of a large capital outflow. If the outflow of capital could be stemmed, this country would be able to maintain an economic growth rate of at least 3 percent a year.

### **COSATU's Naidoo, Others Convicted for Assault**

*MB1510092691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0919 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 15 SAPA—COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] General Secretary Jay Naidoo, the Federation's executive member Sydney Mufamadi and NUMSA [National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa] General Secretary Moses Mayekiso were on Tuesday [15 October] convicted of charges of kidnapping and assault by the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court. The fourth accused, Ms. Baba Schalk, was acquitted on both counts.

The four appeared in court on the charges arising from an incident on August 28 last year when the accused forcibly removed a security policeman from a street in downtown Johannesburg into National Acceptances House—COSATU's headquarters. They reportedly kept him under guard for five and a half hours.



**COSATU 'Press Statement'**

*MB1510115/91 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1138 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[SAPA P& Wire Service: "Press Statement on Conviction of COSATU Leaders" issued by Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] on 15 October]

[Text] COSATU intends instructing its lawyers to appeal against the conviction today of its leaders on charges of kidnapping and assault. COSATU cannot comment on the merits of the decision which will be sub judice until the appeal has been finalised, but we say that the last chapter in this case has yet to be written.

COSATU stands by its leaders who acted in the best interests of the organisation in the context of attacks from the state, shadowy hit squads and forces bent on destroying the labour movement.

The onslaught against our organisation and its leaders which existed at the time that our leaders were first arrested in connection with this case, still continues today as has been most tragically evidenced by the assassination of CAST [Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal] leader Sam Ntuli, who was also a prominent figure in the labour movement.

Recent events have demonstrated that the government has continued to play a shadowy and covert role in trying to undermine COSATU and its allies. This has been evidenced firstly through revelations of the funding of Inkatha from government funds at the tax payer's expense. Secondly it has been revealed that UWUSA [United Workers Union of South Africa], Inkatha's trade union wing, was set up by the security police to destabilise COSATU. Since the Inkathagate revelations, our members have increasingly come under attack from UWUSA-linked vigilantes.

Most recently whilst the shockwave about Inkatha funding was still being absorbed, evidence emerged of government funding via security policemen of an organisation known as the Bureau for Labour Relation Services. The aims of the organisation which received secret handouts was to intervene in labour relations to the detriment of COSATU.

No-one has been charged for any attack on COSATU or any of its members to date despite a catalogue of crimes committed against us, yet our leaders seeking to protect our organisations have ended up being convicted.

Issued by COSATU president, John Gomomo.

**Naidoo Comments on Charges**

*MB1510181291 London BBC World Service in English  
1700 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Telephone interview with Jay Naidoo, secretary general of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, in Johannesburg, by BBC reporter Pallo Tosier; date not given]

[Text] A court in Johannesburg has found three of South Africa's top trade unionists guilty of kidnapping and assault. The incident happened in August of last year when the trade unionists apprehended an undercover security officer and held him in their office. They said he had been watching them. The three, including COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] Secretary General Jay Naidoo, will be sentenced tomorrow and the prosecution is calling for them to be given prison sentences.

On the line to Johannesburg, Pallo Tosier asked Jay Naidoo whether he was surprised at the conviction:

[Begin recording] [Naidoo] Yes, we are very surprised, considering that this must be the first kidnapping trial in the whole world where the kidnappers have held a press conference half an hour after they had taken this person into COSATU House. We had informed the police to come and fetch their person and it appears from the evidence presented by the police that they were aware from the time he was taken into the building that he was being apprehended. So, we are very surprised that it has turned out to be such a rigmarole and that the court has considered itself to find us guilty on charges of kidnapping and assault.

[Tosier] But you are questioning the integrity of the magistrate now, are you not?

[Naidoo] Well, we believe they [word indistinct] an attempt to marginalize the COSATU leadership, particularly given the key role that we are playing in this transitional period. We intend and have instructed our lawyers to appeal against the verdict that has been passed down on us, and we believe that in the context of the present judicial system it clearly does not reflect the spectrum of opinion of people in South Africa and many of the judges and magistrates are appointed by the white minority government.

[Tosier] So, are you suggesting that the magistrate's decision was politically motivated?

[Naidoo] Well, we would not like to believe that that is so, but, given the facts before the case, given that they have ignored the evidence that we had placed before the court, they have ignored the contradictions and the [words indistinct] state witnesses they have brought forward, we cannot but come to a conclusion that part of this is politically inspired.

[Tosier] You are quite upset with this court's decision. How will it affect relations between the labor movement, particularly COSATU, and the government?

[Naidoo] Well, the relationship is very strained at the moment. This is obviously going to impact negatively on the relationship between ourselves and the government. We are, however, committed to achieving a political settlement to the crisis that the Nationalist Party has brought this country into, but we do believe it requires from their side to rectify a number of the disastrous

decisions that they have made in the past and one of them has related to the way in which the judicial system has been set up. So, clearly, we are now more committed than ever before to achieving an interim government of national unity so that we can rectify some of the misuses of power and abuses of power that the Nationalist Party has led this country into.

[Tosier] Tomorrow's sentence is going to be passed. Do you expect a heavy sentence?

[Naidoo] Well, it has always been an expectation from our side that there are many sacrifices that accrue from the struggle against apartheid. [end recording]

### ANC 'Alarmed' at Conviction

MB1610075391 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0500 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] says it's alarmed at the guilty verdict pronounced in the case against COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] leaders on charges of kidnapping and assault.

The Johannesburg magistrate yesterday found COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo, the general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers Moses Mayekiso and COSATU executive member Sydney Mufamadi guilty on charges of assault and kidnap. The ANC says it stands firmly behind the three and is convinced they acted in defense of a colleague.

The charges follow an incident last August when the union officials held a security policeman for five hours at COSATU's Johannesburg headquarters. Sentences are expected later today.

### Union Leaders Sentenced, Fined

MB1610100091 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0948 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By Clyde Russell]

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 16 SAPA—COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] General-Secretary Jay Naidoo, former Assistant General-Secretary Sydney Mufamadi and NUMSA [National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa] General-Secretary Moses Mayekiso were on Wednesday fined R[and]2,000 (or one year imprisonment) with a further one year prison term suspended for three years.

The three trade union leaders had been found guilty on Tuesday of charges of kidnap and assault arising from an incident involving a policeman, a Constable Monge Maleka, on August 28 last year.

In passing sentence, the magistrate, Mr O. Rautenbach, said although the crimes were serious, special circumstances prevailed in the case.

### ANC To Resist Becoming Political Party

MB1110140391 Johannesburg THE STAR  
in English 11 Oct 91 p 10

[Article by Shaun Johnson: "Why It's Not Yet Party Time"]

[Text] The debate about whether or not the African National Congress [ANC] is obliged formally to reconstitute itself as a political party has thus far, and with reason, gone over the heads of the South African public.

It has seemed a rarefied issue, confined to the realms of micronegotiations, and there has been precious little clarity over the precise practical differences between a "liberation movement" and a political party.

This "storm in a teacup" view is flawed, however, as a new ANC discussion document in the possession of The Star clearly demonstrates. The matter is of considerable importance to the ANC, and the organisation appears to be digging in its heels.

Powerful voices within the ANC are arguing that there is no case—now, or in the foreseeable future—for recasting the structural form in which the ANC has operated for nearly 80 years. Their reasons have more to do with the realpolitik of achieving power than with theoretical niceties, and for this reason the justificatory arguments are important to friend and foe alike.

The first full explanation of the ANC's insistence on remaining a "liberation movement"—a decision which has infuriated the Government and rival political parties—is set out in a seven-page discussion paper entitled "National Liberation Movement or Political Party?" drafted by the ANC's department of political education.

It argues that the membership should strongly resist pressure from "the regime, liberal politicians, academics and the press" to convert itself into a political party "modelled on Western democratic lines, where the party apparatus is geared almost exclusively to contesting elections".

The paper sets two key tasks.

The first is to explain why this resolution was passed at the July conference in Durban: "The ANC is a national liberation movement providing leadership to its members and the oppressed and democratic forces generally, over a wide range of issues. The ANC is not a political party."

The second is to tease out the practical import of this decision.

The document accuses the Government of trying to force the ANC into the mould of "normal" politics, thereby severing its direct links with the masses.

"This idea fits neatly into the kind of ANC the Government would like to create as a negotiating partner. In the current period...the central objective of the regime is to

minimise the influence and power of the ANC and to tone down its negotiating demands."

The NP [National Party], it is argued, is genuinely attempting to broaden its support-base, particularly in the coloured and Indian communities, and needs to create space for itself to do so by weakening the ANC. When Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee calls on the ANC to "heed the rules of politics," says the ANC paper, he is intentionally pressurising the organisation into "demobilising its mass base from active struggle...."

A more specific charge is that Pretoria is trying to force the ANC to adopt defined policy position prematurely, knowing that this will sow dissension in its ranks.

"As a national liberation movement, the ANC stands at the head of a whole range of organisations and social groupings that have been struggling against apartheid...Under the banner of national liberation, the ANC harnesses a range of class interests...(this) poses a threat to the objectives of the NP.

"The pressure from the regime for the ANC to become a political party must be seen in this context. It is hoped that if the ANC changes from an organisation uniting a broad range of forces...to a political party, it will be more likely to take more specific and defined positions on policy questions...It is hoped this will split the tripartite alliance."

The ANC paper views the pressure on the political party question as part of a wider strategy to ensure that a new dispensation involves power-sharing, not a transfer of power, and guarantees the NP considerable influence.

These, it is suggested, were key the reasons which underpinned the ANC's unequivocal decision in July to retain its "liberation movement" persona. [sentence as published]

The overall thinking is that "the ANC must maintain its unity and broadness and its link to the masses. This is essential to winning our demands in the transition as well as to reconstruction and ongoing participation in a future South Africa. The mass-based character of the ANC is expressed in the liberation movement form."

However, the document is quick to point out that "this does not mean that the ANC is not interested in contesting elections or that it may not choose at some point to become a mass-based political party". The ANC will indeed contest elections, but "not necessarily in the style" to which white South Africa has become used.

The ANC paper argues that parties can be "mass based, democratic and accountable structures that interact dynamically with the organisations of civil society."

The "Brazilian Workers Party" is cited as an example: "This is a mass party with a dynamic relationship with mass social movements from civics to trade unions...a precondition of party membership is active participation in party structures either in the workplace or the neighbourhood.

"These locally based structures are the basis of policy making and discussion which is fed into municipal conventions and then the state convention."

What is evident from the ANC argument is that the term "political party" is not, at base, the real issue: what is crucial is that "policy formation must involve the active participation of the grassroots. The mobilisation of people for elections must extend beyond the elections to mobilising people for the process of national liberation in general."

Implicit in this is a criticism of the ANC leadership's tendency since the organisation's unbanning, to take decisions in isolation.

If the views contained in the document prevail, it appears highly unlikely that the transformation from liberation movement to political party will take place in the near future—and certainly not before the proposed all-party conference.

And even then, ANC members are told: "We should not assume that we must adapt our organisational form and style to the norms and conventions that have been established in white parliamentary politics—simply because these are the established way electoral politics in this country has been conducted."

### IFP's Buthelezi on Party Policies, Visions

*MB1110143091 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1830 GMT 10 Oct 91*

[Interview with Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader, by Penny Smythe, South African Broadcasting Corporation correspondent; political correspondent Lester Venter; and TV2's editorial team member Xoli Mazibuko; at the SABC TV 1 studio in Johannesburg on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Smythe] Welcome to this holiday edition of Agenda. One of the key players in the process towards the new South Africa is the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP]. Tonight we welcome the leader of Inkatha, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of kwaZulu, to discuss his party's policies and his vision of the future. Joining us on the panel are Xoli Mazibuko of TV2's editorial team and Lester Venter, our political correspondent. Good evening sir, and good evening gentlemen. Chief Minister, if I might begin. Inkatha has now opened its membership to all people. But it still is a predominantly Zulu party. How are you going to break out of that cultural, liberation mold and become more representative of society as a whole and also to prepare yourself for upcoming elections as a party, as a political party?

[Buthelezi] It seems to me that, either wittingly or unwittingly, people become propagandist you know, of



my position. Because in just two years you know, after I founded Inkatha Freedom Party, when it was just Inkatha, a survey was done by the Freiburg University and (Pak Strauss Institute), and it was not prompted, actually commissioned by myself, and it showed at that time that 40 percent of the membership of the IFP was in fact non-Zulu. But in fact I was called up to Pretoria by [former justice minister] Mr. Kruger, in 1977, because he wanted to take action against Inkatha because I didn't confine membership to Zulus. I think that this thing is deliberately overplayed as propaganda against... (changes thought)... you know to present us in a negative light, and as if we are exclusive when we've never been exclusive you know from the very beginning.

[Smythe] So, it's a perception thing. People perceive the party to be....

[Buthelezi interrupting] It's promoted by certain people deliberately.

[Smythe] So is this not something that the party should actually do, is to actually advertise this, the fact that there are many more people of other race groups, culture groups, than they seem to think?

[Buthelezi] No, but surely, I mean just now we have problems in the western Transvaal. I mean some of our members that have been killed there in the western Transvaal were not Zulu in any sense. I have inaugurated branches in Bekkersdal. We have always had branches in the [Orange] Free State, which is predominantly Sotho. We have members in the western Cape and so on. But, I mean the fact that you know Inkatha was founded by myself, and that I'm based in kwaZulu, and that naturally there are more members of it, should not be such a strange thing, because even if you take account of the fact that the Zulus are the largest single ethnic or language group in this country, white or black.

[Smythe] Yes, well what about.... (changes thought)... could you go on with the second part of your question then as how you are preparing yourself as a political party for future elections.

[Buthelezi] Yes, at present you know we hope that the money that is coming from the United States, the 7 million, we hope that that will help us to set up offices, because we need regional officers all over the country. We need to get our act together, and of course, that we can only do if we have money, funding, and Mrs. Thatcher's government also helped us, you know, as far as equipment is concerned, because even this 7 million is not going to come to us, but it will help us to set up, you know, offices and equipment, etcetera. I think that we are gearing ourselves to making use of that money in that way.

[Smythe] Lester?

[Venter] Chief Minister, taking up this point of Inkatha's predominantly Zulu image. Now the other parties in the field, like the National Party, the Democratic Party and

the ANC [African National Congress], have published constitutional plans and their economic policies. Inkatha hasn't done either of those, so what is it that would attract potential supporters of the party other than the Zulu predominance?

[Buthelezi] That is a fallacy to reiterate, you know, in the media like TV about this Zulu dominance, taking into account also the history of the Zulu people; taking into account that the Zulu people are used as the scarecrow here on the reef. You know people hear Zulus are coming in the present violence, so I really think that the media like yours would be helpful in the current violence in not repeating things like that which fan the flames of resentment and violence.

[Smythe] Alright, the point was to do with the constitution that....

[Venter interrupting] Yes is Inkatha planning to publish a constitutional plan and economic policy like the other parties have?

[Buthelezi] Well, Mr. Venter, I would say that I've just been as surprised by the species homo sapiens, that is ourselves as human beings, because I was the first person in this country, you know, to doodle [as heard] as far as the constitutions are concerned. I appointed the Buthelezi Commission in relation to the kwaZulu, Natal region, as early as the early 80's, 1980, and it came out with certain recommendations, concepts of a constitution, and then subsequent to that we also had the kwaZulu Natal Indaba [conference] which also came out with recommendations, with concepts of a constitution, which we endorsed although it was not really our ideal, which is a unitary constitution a la Westminster, I mean that is the first option. But we had prepared to endorse the recommendations of the Buthelezi Commission, and some of the concepts, in fact that are in the National Party, what you call, model, are actually concepts that were actually crafted by the Buthelezi Commission. So as far as we are concerned, we think that the main thing is to get the multiparty conference first. Last year in fact we had a 1990 Declaration where we actually made it clear to everyone exactly where we stood and where, you know, the ideas which would be part and parcel of our constitution. I think that the idea then, Mr. Venter, that we are behind the National Party, we are behind the ANC, amuses me because we were the first. I was the first leader in this country, black or white to talk about federation. I delivered the (Henly Memorial Lecture) in the early 70's at the University of Cape Town you know where I doodled [as heard] about a possible federation for this county. These things are documented.

[Smythe] You called for a national convention, I think it was in 1976, to work out the constitutional future of South Africa. If negotiations were to start tomorrow, is the IFP ready to handle negotiations?

[Buthelezi] Absolutely. Absolutely. I think you know, Ms. Smythe, the first thing that should happen is that we should have this multiparty convention, and then, at the

multiparty convention, we should—the parties, the players—should get together to find out, in fact, whether they agree about a sovereign state, you know, one sovereign parliament, the rule of law, for example, you know, the bill of rights, you know, an independent judiciary, you know, the basic things in a constitution, you know, whether we agree on those things. Probably we might have work groups, working groups, you know, that would split up, you know, once you get?Fhat off....

[Smythe, interrupting] Before Xoli comes in there, may I just say again, who is dragging their feet? Why is this not happening?

[Buthelezi] Well, as you know, it was the ultimatum of the ANC which halted things, you know, in April and subsequent to that, of course, there is the present, you know, argument that Mr. de Klerk should sack ministers and that Mr. de Klerk should also stop the violence, you know, things which I didn't see as the function only of the president. I thought it was the function of all of us as players. I think that there has been that, and also, of course, the peace accord. I thought it was a very good sign for all of us in this country. I thought, in fact, we were just about to get things, you know, off the ground, but unfortunately, as you know, there is now this big bluster about stayaways that have been organized, and so on, and these things are really going to create more and more setbacks.

[Mazibuko] Let me take up an old question here with you, Mr. Chief Minister. Firstly, the Inkatha belief that you should start off the whole thing with the multiparty conference, but now on the other hand the other parties like, today we have learned that Labor Party is also gunning for the Patriotic Front. Now, how do you view the Patriotic Front now, because it's now moving ahead, in spite of your not joining it?

[Buthelezi] So many things have moved ahead without me, you know. Unfortunately no one can ignore me, or my constituency, neither can things move without me, just as things cannot move without the ANC or the National Party [NP]. I think we must get that straight, you know, as far as all of us are concerned, that there is no way that people who have tried to marginalize us, to marginalize IFP, marginalize me, are going to succeed to do so.

Now, as far as the Patriotic Front is concerned, I think the Central Committee of the IFP stated the reasons why they would not participate in the Patriotic Front. And in fact, we had given a date to the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] in August, because they wanted to come and discuss the matter with us. Then, of course, later, they came to your studios to say that they were no longer prepared to talk to us. And that was that.

This idea, you know, Mr. Mazibuko, that people must, you know, get somewhere, work out things for the rest of us, and then expect us to accept them holus bolus, I think that should be abandoned, because there will never be any way forward if we operate like that. As you know, the

whole idea of a constituent assembly, the interim government, are things that we worked out in Harare in the absence of many of us. Now we are expected to swallow that, you know, when it has not been discussed with us in the first place, when we were excluded in the first place.

[Mazibuko] So you are not even going to that Patriotic Front to express those views, that you need to be invited to discuss these issues....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] Is it for Mr. Mazibuko to invite me there? I have not received any formal invitation, unless you are their agent to do so. Are you inviting me?

[Mazibuko] No, I am not inviting you, I'm just trying to find out a fact here, because seemingly the statements from your Central Committee point out that you are excluding yourself, and you view the whole thing as ganging up against whites. Is your Central Committee still viewing it that way?

[Buthelezi] That is where we stand, that's where we stand at the moment. We say there is no need, we say that is yesterday's politics. Five years ago that would have made a lot of sense, 5 years ago. We cannot understand, ourselves, that now that we have got President de Klerk who has actually said that let's get around the conference table and draft a constitution, you know, for this country, that at this point in time we should be getting, you know, together in patriotic fronts.

[Smythe] Chief Minister, do you see an alliance between Inkatha and the National Party, for example, in the future?

[Buthelezi] There will be alliance politics in this country with many parties, but there's been no alliance between the NP and the IFP on the cards just yet. But clearly the principle of alliances is a principle which all of us must accept willy nilly, because there is no one dominating party in this country. It's quite clear, therefore, that, you know, there will have to be alliances.

[Venter] Talking of alliances, to which side are you inclined at this point, whereas you are making it clear that you are not inclined to an alliance (?with) the PAC and the ANC?

[Buthelezi] I say that the time for that, Mr. Venter, has not come. When I get to that bridge, then we will cross it at that time, but I cannot talk about, you know, what my preferences are at this moment.

[Smythe] Allright, let me ask you this: If there was a general election, and—because you've said that you don't want to see the ANC or the SACP [South African Communist Party] crushing all its opposition and becoming the only viable party for South Africa; you want a multiparty sort of system—if there was a general election and one particular party other than IFP actually got an overall majority, what would your reaction be? Would you be prepared to work under a government of that particular party, to work within that situation?

[Buthelezi] Well, I mean, for a long time it's a question that has, you know, really been put to me over decades: Are you prepared to serve under Dr. Mandela? And I've always said if that is the choice of the people of South Africa, I'll abide by that. If the people of South Africa choose President de Klerk as president of this country after we have decided what kind of future we are mapping out for this country, and the people of this country, then I'll work under him. But I've said that the other logical part, of course, is that if I am that choice too, they should be prepared also to serve under me.

[Mazibuko] Let me take up another question here. The whole question of the land issue has never been heard. It's more a question similar to that of Mr. Venter. We have not heard much about the whole question of the land issue coming from Inkatha ranks....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] Should I be giving it to you here in the studio? The government issued a white paper, and we commented, you know, very comprehensively about it, and we talk about it in our Central Committee meetings all the time.

[Mazibuko] That is viewed by many people as simply a follow-up on what the government has already come up with. Even the [Zulu] king: I spoke to the king the other day, and he felt very strongly about the question of the land, but from IFP ranks, we hear very little....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] But it's nonsense, and you know you are talking nonsense now. We feel very strongly. Over the years we have always, you know, talked about the injustice of 87 percent of the country being owned by whites, and the majority of the people here having no land, and having very little land. I mean, it's a thing that, you know, is a recurring theme in my speeches in the last 30 years.

[Mazibuko] So how are you going to be addressing it? That's what people want to know out there. How are you going to be addressing the whole question of the land?

[Buthelezi] Well, we'll address it when the time comes to address it. But in the meantime, you know, if you had warned me, then I would have got you my comments on the white paper itself; because, quite clearly, there are many people in this country that have no land at all. Over the years our people were evicted from many white farms and they are crowded, you know, in the so-called reserves, and they are crowded in many other parts, even some of the farms that the government has bought. So it's quite clear that we need land first of all for settling people, but we need land also for agriculture because black people have had no access, you know, to land for agrarian purposes. We need land for that....

[Smythe, interrupting] Chief Minister, may I just follow up with that. I think that the Inkatha party has been in existence for quite some time now. You must have some indication of how—I mean that must be a very basic fact that has to be dealt with. Could you not give us some indication of how you intend to deal with the subject.

[Buthelezi] But in fact you interrupted me when I was doing so. I said that in the first place we need land. In the first place there are people that are crowded, there are people that have no land even just to settle. So we need land for those people in the first place. We need....

[Smythe, interrupting] And how to you plan to do that?

[Buthelezi] We need land also—in fact kwaZulu is the first of any self-governing territory that has passed an act of the assembly where we tried to improve the tenure of land, because you know, land in African society is communally held, and we are not going to destroy that. But at the same time we have tried to establish, you know, a law that we have passed. Our Land Act actually makes people more secure as far as land ownership is concerned, as far as possession of land is concerned. So the first thing to do then is to enable our people to have access to land, arable land to farm and at the same time we need for land for people who, for instance, need to go into business. We have industrial estates where—because the Land Acts were what they were in this country—we used the 99 year lease initially, because we have always been committed having security of tenure for people, because we realised that as far as the economy is concerned, as far as industry is concerned, and as far as farming is concerned, people need security of tenure.

[Smythe] Alright. I am not sure we actually dealt with that completely but....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] So at the same time I have always said publicly in several speeches that the example also that Mr. Mugabe tried in Zimbabwe, that he has set up there, where a lot of peasants were settled on land—and in fact in the last couple of years the yield which was produced by the farmers actually earned some foreign currency for Zimbabwe. These are the lines along which the IFP thinks about this question.

[Venter] Chief Minister, while we discuss these important matters of policy, there are vital issues of life and death at present, the violence that is tearing at our society. Now in this respect there are problems that concern people, around the interpretation of the peace accord itself. There is a provision in the peace accord that states: No dangerous weapons to be carried by anyone in any party in public. Do you understand that to include what you refer to as traditional weapons?

[Buthelezi] It's not myself who regards them as traditional weapons, and you know, Mr. Venter, the way you couched that question is something I resent, you know; because the question of the accoutrements of the Zulu people is a very emotional issue. It's an issue which we discussed both with his majesty the king, and the president of this country, and it was stated in the accord that this would be taken further by bilateral discussions between us and the government—just as, in terms of the Pretoria Minute, discussions on the Umkhonto [Umkhonto we Sizwe—ANC Military Wing] and the setting up of defense units was also mentioned in the Pretoria Minute.



[Venter] People are asking then, is it not possible, in view of the circumstances in which people are being killed every day, for all parties to undertake that no weapons of any kind....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] I do not regard my, what you call here [beaded baton], as a weapon. It is part of my culture and I carry it. I mean, for instance, if there is a parade people carry swords. They don't necessarily butcher each other. The thing that should be addressed is the violence itself, the culture of violence—you know, the question of the culture of tolerance. Those are the things that should be discussed, because you can use a knife to kill a person, you can use a woman's shoe to kill someone. I mean, the thing that should be actually addressed is the violence itself, you know, the intolerance, you know, that exists in black society.

[Smythe] Do you see that coming to an end? Do you see that reconciliation between the ANC and Inkatha—something that's going to happen in the near future?

[Buthelezi] Well, I don't know, the ball is not in my court. As you know on 29 January we reached an accord with ANC which was actually marvelous. It was actually very impeccable, with clear terms which could have stopped the violence, but it never even got off the ground. And as far as the peace accord is concerned, I have addressed more than four big gatherings, you know, of my people, where I have actually upheld the peace accord, where I have explained the peace accord. I have translated the peace accord into Zulu, I have had it translated. I have sent it, you know, to our branches, and yesterday we had a meeting of the caucus of the assembly, and I talked about the peace accord yesterday and actually distributed it in both Zulu and English, and asked out colleagues in the assembly to see to it that their constituents are made au fait with the peace accord. I don't think that there is any party, whether it's the government or ANC, or any of the signatories, that has done as much as I have done to promote the provisions of the peace accord.

[Smythe] Thank you very much, Chief Minister, for joining us on Agenda. Thank you gentlemen.

#### **PAC's Makwetu Interviewed on Policies**

*MB1310193091 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in English 1815 GMT 13 Oct 91*

[Interview with Clarence Makwetu, Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) leader, by Freek Robinson, South African Broadcasting Corporation correspondent, in the SABC TV 1 studio in Johannesburg on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Robinson] Mr. Makwetu, the first thing, of course, I think it is something that really troubles so many people in this country, especially the white people, as you can understand, is this particular one phrase of: One settler, one bullet. Is it still the official slogan of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] or not?

[Makwetu] Well, I don't know what is meant by official. Normally, an organization is guided by the policy and principles of that organization.

[Robinson] Excuse me, Mr. Makwetu, but do you accept this as a slogan of the PAC or do you disassociate yourself from it?

[Makwetu] It is a slogan of PAC.

[Robinson] Can you explain what exactly do you mean by that?

[Makwetu] Well, you intervened when I was just about to explain. Firstly, I think the crime that was committed by PAC was to shout this slogan in English. I am saying this because there are various slogans shouted by other organizations, but in Xhosa and in Zulu and nobody seems to worry about that. In order to understand the slogan—one settler, one bullet—one has to look at it in its historical context. When ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front] was fighting for liberation in Zimbabwe, they coined this slogan in Tanzania where our young men were training in the camps close to the ZANU-PF camps.

[Robinson] And you took it over?

[Makwetu] And they took it over. This was a slogan that was shouted by ZANU-PF throughout their struggle in Zimbabwe. But if you go to Zimbabwe today not a single person, you will find shouting: One settler, one bullet, because it was for a particular purpose and for a particular period.

[Robinson] What then is the particular purpose in South Africa of this slogan?

[Makwetu] It is strange for us that everybody seems to be up in arms about this slogan, because there are more serious issues taking place in our country, which we feel could draw attention.

[Robinson] With respect, Mr. Makwetu, we will come to that.

[Makwetu] Yes.

[Robinson] But please, could you just explain what does this mean in South Africa today?

[Makwetu] This afternoon, I watched the All Blacks [New Zealand rugby team] playing against Italy.

[Robinson] That is correct.

[Makwetu] When they were shouting their war cry, one would think that the war is imminent. So, in any war situation, anybody who is fighting against an enemy, one has to devise all sorts of weapons. But, why I say this is strange? Here is a young man shouting: One settler, one bullet in Soweto, and this young man has no gun, no bullet, whatsoever, but the whole world seems to be puzzled or worried over this slogan.



[Robinson] But you have a military wing, Mr. Makwetu?

[Makwetu] That is true.

[Robinson] But with great respect, you still have not explained what this means: One settler, one bullet? Does that mean that ...[changes thought] and I must just remind you with respect that you still have your armed struggle going on up until this very day. Therefore, it is not unlikely that whites will interpret this phrase as a very hostile one, referring to whites. Is that true or not?

[Makwetu] Definitely, there can't be friendliness between two armies.

[Robinson] You are talking about the government, I take it, if you refer to armies, if you refer to the [South African] Defense Force?

[Makwetu] That is right.

[Robinson] But what about a person like myself? Must I consider myself as a settler or must I just wait for the bullet from the PAC?

[Makwetu] It depends how you define a settler.

[Robinson] It is your slogan. So, please define it for us.

[Makwetu] Well, I have explained already what it means and how it originated. I don't know how further I should explain now.

[Robinson] But within South Africa, do you regard whites, do you regard whites in South Africa as people who can become part and parcel of your political aims or not?

[Makwetu] We have no problems with whites in our country whatsoever, according to the principles of our organization.

[Robinson] Do you regard whites as settlers?

[Makwetu] Not to my knowledge. It depends on their attitude. If they are here to exploit the resources of the country and leave the country, definitely, they are settlers. If they are here to dominate and not to allow our people to enjoy the freedom of their country, then definitely they must be labelled as settlers.

[Robinson] So, what kind of attitude by whites would be acceptable to you?

[Makwetu] Well, we don't want them to adopt a particular attitude, but we have accommodation for everybody in our organization.

[Robinson] You don't have preconditions for whites who would want to become part of your organization?

[Makwetu] Well, let me explain first what we mean by an African in our organization, then we'll understand whether we have conditions or not.

[Robinson] Good, go ahead.

[Makwetu] We say PAC is a home for all Africans. And by African we mean the Aborigine of Africa. And all those who owe their allegiance to Africa, and are prepared to abide by rule of an African majority.

[Robinson] So, on the basis of your explanation I take it that no single white can be considered to be a local of Africa. He can only be someone who, through time, becomes part of the ideal of Africanism. Is that true? So by birth or by virtue of 300 years in this country, there is no right for a white to be an African. Is that correct?

[Makwetu] I'll have to repeat myself for you to understand because I said Africans are Aborigines of Africa.

[Robinson] But that exclusively excludes whites?

[Makwetu] That's right, and it goes further. It says and all those who owe their allegiance to Africa, and are prepared to abide by rule of an African majority are regarded as Africans.

[Robinson] Good. Those people who you consider to be settlers, those in terms of your terminology, who are exploiting the resources of the country, must they be killed, to put it bluntly?

[Makwetu] It depends whom they are fighting against really. I have no bullet with me at the moment. I wouldn't say they should be killed or not be killed.

[Robinson] You still have a military wing Mr. Makwetu, called APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] that are based in Tanzania. Are you considering at one particular point in the future to decide to call in those men and to stop the armed struggle?

[Makwetu] Of course, immediately we attain freedom there would be no need for an army outside this country belonging to this country.

[Robinson] How do you define freedom? When will that point of freedom come?

[Makwetu] When we get the ballot?

[Robinson] Who?

[Makwetu] The African people.

[Robinson] Including whites?

[Makwetu] They have the ballot already.

[Robinson] But those who you consider to be Africans?

[Makwetu] Those who don't have the ballot today. Immediately they have the ballot the war comes to an end.

[Robinson] Mr. Makwetu, let's move on to the question of negotiation. It's well-known that the PAC is against the concept of all-party talks, and that you don't want to engage with this government in negotiations. Why?

[Makwetu] To begin, it's not quite true. We have said in the past and we still say so today, and this is a resolution of congress, that there is nothing that bars PAC from seeking a peaceful and democratic solution for the problems of our country. And this was in reply to a letter written by the regime inviting us to talk. And we said in reply that we are prepared to sit down and discuss the modalities that will lead to the creation of a Constituent Assembly.

[Robinson] So, at least in that interim stage, towards the Constituent Assembly, you are prepared to sit down with this present government?

[Makwetu] Definitely.

[Robinson] You have also sat down with members of this government in the peace negotiations, and you've had no problem with that?

[Makwetu] We had no problem.

[Robinson] So, why do you have this big problem of sitting down with other people like the ANC [African National Congress], who are prepared to sit down with the government in negotiations, in the all-party congress, as they call it?

[Makwetu] It is not correct to say we have a problem in sitting down with the ANC. We have sat down....

[Robinson interrupting]....together with them and the government in all-party talks?

[Makwetu] Well, after we learnt that everybody in our country feels that a new constitution should be drawn up, we put forward a formula in the form of a Constituent Assembly, and in preparation of that we decided to meet all the members of the oppressed with a view of bringing them together, in other words forging unity amongst the oppressed, hence to date then the talks of a Patriotic Front that is going to be held in two weeks' time.

[Robinson] Yes, but the question I have put to you, Mr. Makwetu, is, and I can refer you to some newspaper clippings, is that there were statements made by people of the ANC after your recent meeting to decide on the final specifications for the Patriotic Front. I think that was about on the 25th of September, and afterwards the spokesman of the ANC said that you, the PAC, and the ANC were now prepared to sit down at all-party talks with the government. It was denied afterwards by a PAC spokesman. What exactly is the position?

[Makwetu] The position is as I have indicated. We have said that we are going to bring unity first, amongst the oppressed. Immediately that is achieved, it will be the Patriotic Front now that is going to engage the regime in talks.

[Robinson] But, as far as you are concerned, those talks can only be about modalities toward a Constituent Assembly?

[Makwetu] That is true.

[Robinson] If the Patriotic Front, with the ANC, want to engage in all sorts of other negotiations, you will not do so?

[Makwetu] We don't anticipate any other organizations because the ANC and other organizations that we have spoken to are also committed to the idea of a Constituent Assembly.

[Robinson] Could we just talk briefly then about what you want to achieve at a Constituent Assembly? Tell us briefly about your policy, specifically with reference to socialism?

[Makwetu] Well, socialism, to begin with, has nothing to do with the Patriotic Front, really.

[Robinson] No, no, no, the PAC, the PAC.

[Makwetu] Well, what we have in mind in socialism is the injustices that is [as heard] taking place in our country at the moment. We are opposed to the economic system that is obtaining now where the majority is exploited for the benefit of the few. We anticipate a situation where the economy of the country will be socialized. In other words, we believe and we are striving toward that, that the wealth of the country should be redistributed.

[Robinson] Could I stop you then, interrupt you, Mr. Makwetu, if you, please. Could you just explain to us then exactly what you mean by redistribution of the wealth of the country? Would you, for instance, nationalize the mining companies? Would you nationalize the banks, insurance companies?

[Makwetu] Well, nationalization is one of the options really. It is not the issue.

[Robinson] How will you then distribute the wealth?

[Makwetu] It can be started now, tonight, for that matter.

[Robinson] How?

[Makwetu] For instance, we believe that workers should not be just wage earners. They should participate in the sharing of profits of the industries in which they are working.

[Robinson] But that is taking place already in many places where they are shareholders?

[Makwetu] Yes, it is taking place because we have strived for that. We have been agitating for that for years. And we go further: We say they should be afforded skills in order to be more productive than they are today.

[Robinson] Excuse me, what do you mean by afforded skills? You mean they must be trained better?

[Makwetu] Definitely. For instance, our country at the moment depends on skills that come from outside the country. As a result a lot of money leaves the country to pay for those skills.

[Robinson] You are also aware, with great respect, Mr. Makwetu, that people outside the country—foreign investors—are very wary of this term: socialism and redistribution of wealth, because it also means that their deposits, their investments in this country will also be redistributed?

[Makwetu] That is not true. We encourage investors to come and invest in our country, provided they are not coming here for the sole purpose of exploiting our people.

[Robinson] Could you refer to the question of land. I know that it is the policy of the PAC also to redistribute land. How will you do that?

[Makwetu] Well, that is an issue that would need experts to sit down. But we believe that at the moment, it is unjust for 87 percent or more percent of the land to be held by a tiny minority, whereas most people are homeless, they are landless, they have no place where to live, aspiring African farmers can't become farmers because of land. We feel that the whole system should be overhauled.

[Robinson] In fact, I think the government will in principle agree with what you have said. But the question is: How would you go about in redistributing land?

[Makwetu] Well, we will sit down with the parties involved and come up with the strategy whereby this could be achieved. I am not an expert on that subject.

[Robinson] Just for the sake of interest, Mr. Makwetu, can you explain this name: Azania. Do you really see this as a new name for South Africa in the future? Where does it come from?

[Makwetu] Before Ghana became independent, it was called the Gold Coast and there was nothing like Ghana inside the territory of the Gold Coast. But it was a kingdom beyond Ghana. Similarly here, during the old days, there was a kingdom stretching from Ethiopia toward the borders of our country. We have assumed that name.

[Robinson] Also for this country, while the name actually pertained to other parts of Africa?

[Makwetu] Pardon?

[Robinson] It actually pertained to other parts of Africa but you assumed it for yourself, for South Africa?

[Makwetu] There is no part of Africa that is called Azania today. Similarly, there was no country that was called Ghana before Ghana became independent.

[Robinson] Mr. Makwetu, thank you very much for your time. This was merely an exploratory interview with you. Thank you very much for your time and for coming to our program.

[Makwetu] Thank you.

## AWB Moves To Oppose ANC Military Wing

### To Expand Commando System

MB1210072491 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
0500 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] The AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] is to expand its commando system to oppose the armed wing of the ANC [African National Congress], Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation]. AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche made the announcement at Vereeniging, threatening at the same time that commandos would begin operating underground if the government declared them illegal.

### Terreblanche Reelected

MB1210155891 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1500 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Nearly 400 members of the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] have marched through Vereeniging to demonstrate their resolve to fight black domination.

The march came at the end of a three-day AWB congress which reelected Eugene Terreblanche head of the movement.

Police with shotguns and video cameras monitored the march and no incidents of violence were reported.

Terreblanche, and his aides on horseback, headed the march followed, by a platoon of black uniformed men described as the AWB Military Elite.

Regional leader, Jacobson, said the platoon was the AWB's equivalent of the Nazi SS. He said the organization had to be ready to defend itself against the onslaught from the African National Congress.

### Interview With Terreblanche

MB1210205691 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement—AWB] has announced plans to expand its commando system countrywide and to provide every member of the organization with commando training.

The AWB leader, Eugene Terreblanche, says that if the government bans these groups they'll go underground.

[Begin recording] [Jean Oosthuizen SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] Correspondent] Mr.



Terreblanche was unanimously reelected as leader of the AWB during yesterday's countrywide congress of the organization, and will in future be addressed as president of the AWB. At a press conference this morning, Mr. Terreblanche said each and every member of the AWB will undergo training, and the commando units will be forced to go underground if the government should outlaw them.

[Terreblanche in Afrikaans] If the government, under pressure from Mandela and the ANC [African National Congress], bans the commandos, we will have no other choice but to go underground, and will start the war in South Africa.

[Oosthuizen] On the recently signed Peace Accord, Mr. Terreblanche said it was not worth the paper it was written on.

[Terreblanche in Afrikaans] Despite the signing of the Peace Accord between the so-called parties, violence amongst the black communities has continued. The AWB was not part of that Peace Accord because the AWB does not play around with the truth and with peace.

[Oosthuizen] Mr. Terreblanche also welcomed the attendance of the CP [Conservative Party] member of parliament, Mr. Koos Botha, during last night's public meeting, and said people in the right-wing want unity.

[Terreblanche in Afrikaans] In February this year I predicted a totally new right-wing structure.

[Oosthuizen] The AWB ended its congress today with a march through the streets of Vereeniging. The march was led by Mr. Terreblanche, followed by members of the AWB's commando units. [end recording]

#### **Defense Minister Meyer Tours East Rand 11 Oct**

*MB1110140891 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1100 GMT 11 Oct 91*

[Text] Defense Minister Roelf Meyer, says the police have seized almost 600 firearms since 13 August this year at Thokoza, Katlehong, and Vosloorus on the East Rand.

The haul included 164 Ak-47 rifles. He was addressing a news conference after a visit to 32 battalion at Thokoza.

Mr. Meyer said he would discuss information that he gathered during his visit at a meeting of the National Peace Committee later today.

#### **Comments on Political Violence**

*MB1110150091 Johannesburg SABA in English 1352 GMT 11 Oct 91*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 11 SABA—The continuing violence can ultimately only be stopped after a new constitution has been hammered out by all political parties, and cannot be ended overnight, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said in unrest-ridden Thokoza on the East Rand on Friday.

He was visiting a SA [South African] Defence Force [SADF] support point in the township, where he was briefed by senior SADF personnel about the unrest situation on the East Rand, which has claimed over 30 lives this week.

As far as the minister was concerned a large percentage of the violence was linked to politics—"in other words, political violence".

"There is only one way to curb political violence, and that is through a political solution," Mr Meyer said.

The sooner the different parties in the country sat down at the negotiations table and discussed a new constitution, the sooner violence would be stopped.

In the meantime, though, the government, SADF, SA Police and "other protection elements" would do all in their power to prevent the spread of violence.

The newly-appointed defence minister also briefly addressed members of 32 Battalion, who have been stationed in Thokoza for about a week, through a Portuguese interpreter.

They originally came from Angola, were stationed in Namibia before independence, but have been inside South Africa for the past two years.

The almost 200 soldiers will remain there for the next two months, when they will be relieved by another SADF unit.

The Thokoza support point was set-up in the centre of the township at the beginning of April. Another has been established in Bekkersdal, and a third has been set up in Sebokeng.

According to indications the security situation in the area "generally is busy abating", Mr Meyer said. Unfortunately, though, isolated incidents of violence still occurred, and were difficult to control.

"There is a general calming of the situation of unrest in the area, and it looks at this stage that the security forces have control over the situation," the minister said. However, the SADF would have to "take care of the situation on a continuous basis".

The minister described the SADF support points as being quasi-permanent—"on a permanent basis for the time being".

He pointed out that the signing of the National Peace Accord on September 14 "did not suddenly mean that we can or could bring all violence to an end".

Not all the structures outlined in the accord had been set-up yet—"it is a reasonably long process to complete, and it will take time".

"Even when this has been achieved it does not necessarily mean that individual violent incidents will be stopped overnight," Mr Meyer said. "Unfortunately, a longer process is needed to achieve this."

On his way out of the township, Mr Meyer, who was travelling in a casspir under heavy sadf guard, made an impromptu stop at a shopping centre and did a walk-about.

He smiled a lot, chatted to local residents, and slapped them on the back.

Soon after he was whisked off to attend a meeting of the National Peace Committee, the umbrella body which is responsible for the implementation of the peace accord.

Mr Meyer said he would brief the committee about the situation in Thokoza and on the East Rand.

## Reports on ANC, IFP Disagreements, Clashes

### Uneasy Situation at Thabong Hostel

MB1110154691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1417 GMT 11 Oct 91

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: African National Congress [ANC]: "Report on the presence of Inkatha in Thabong, 11 October 1991; issued DIP [Department of Information and Publicity], northern OFS [Orange Free State] region"]

[Text] Fear is mounting amongst the residents of G-hostel in Thabong, Welkom. This is due to emergence of Inkatha supporters who disruptive to the normal procedures that governs the hostel inmates. The presence of Inkatha has come as a shock as it has never existed and even its offices are unknown to everybody. So far few people who claimed to be officials are; Simon Monareng, (once controversial on the issue of consumer boycott), Thabiso Chomane, Sipho Nhlapho and Khumalo.

Because of this prompt and unexpected appearance of Inkatha, there is a strong belief that Inkatha is being exported from strife-torn areas of the country to instill fear and intimidate the people. In Thabong, the whole issue of Inkatha came to the fore when two hostel inmates clashed over money. A fight ensued and both suffered stab-wounds. One of those involved in a fight claimed to be an IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] supporter and promised that he will come with his IFP colleagues. It was later explained to them by the hostel leadership that it was unprocedural to enter the hostel premises armed. They (leadership) went further to say that IFP leadership should be the one to claim and retrieve the weapons. Khumalo, who is in the IFP leadership position came and collected the weapons.

It is worthwhile noting that there has been peace all along in the hostels with inmates addressing their problems only as hostel dwellers without making any reference to ones' political inclination. At the present moment police are also implicated in this issue with one of them Khoza, featuring prominently. The latter was seen transporting IFP supporters on the night of 7th October at about 21:54 in a police van. Residents of the hostel are very angry and bitter about the fact that their cases are not treated with fairness as they have proof of police bias against them. A certain Mr Ngcobo (IFP member) has been accused of passing a provocative remark with a smile on his face. "You boys must be careful, my boys from Jo'burg are around and are armed to the teeth".

"We in the ANC [African National Congress] demand from the government and the police in particular to stop fanning hostile spirit amongst members of different political organisations as these is detrimental to the existence of the peace accord".

### Clash in Umlazi, 7 ANC Dead

MB1110190291 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1833 GMT 11 Oct 91

[By Craig Doonan]

[Text] Durban Oct 11 SAPA—Seven African National Congress [ANC] supporters were killed in four separate attacks on Thursday by a group of "warlords" allegedly supported by kwaZulu policemen in Durban's Umlazi township.

All the victims were shot dead in Umlazi's troubled Z section where Inkatha/ANC fighting has been raging over the past three weeks. They were all ANC supporters, according to African National Congress officials and family members.

Residents and family members of the dead on Friday accused kwaZulu Police [KZP] in camouflage uniform of assisting the attackers—some of whom wore balaclavas.

ANC southern Natal secretary Mr S'bu Ndebele said he would hold an urgent meeting with Durban South African Police officers on Friday afternoon to address the allegations.

Residents demanded that the KZP be immediately withdrawn from the area and replaced with a neutral peace-keeping force.

Mr Ndebele said he would also lead an ANC delegation to urgently meet Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] leaders at the Inkatha Institute later on Friday to try to stop the fighting in Umlazi's U and Z sections and nearby Malukazi and Zamani—where at least 11 people have been killed in the past two weeks.

Inkatha Institute spokesmen could not confirm the meeting but said they had heard it would take place.

In Thursday's attacks, gunmen killed Mr Sipho Ngcobo, 30, after kicking down the door of his home in Umlazi's Z section about 4.30 PM. An unidentified person was killed in the road nearby later Thursday afternoon.

About 10 PM, gunmen attacked the Phelakho household in Z section, killing Mr Wilbert Phelakho, 56, his wife Maria, 48, and their son Thulani, 22.

Eyewitnesses to the incident said they saw camouflaged men among the attackers outside the house.

In the last attack about an hour later, ANC supporters Nkululeko, 25, and Mondli Dlamini, 21, were shot dead when gunmen identifying themselves as police entered the house and killed them at point-blank range.

Their mother, Mrs Gladys Dlamini, apparently an Inkatha supporter, was injured while another of her sons, Mohole, 22, was shot and abducted. Police found him wounded on the road nearby about an hour later and took him to hospital.

Several eyewitnesses implicated two men, whose names were given to SAPA. Many residents further alleged a kwaZulu Police vehicle, ZP 724, was seen accompanying one of the alleged warlord's cars.

Responding to the attacks, IFP Central Committee member Mr Senzo Mfayela attributed the deaths to an "ANC split" in the area.

He said the IFP had warned of splits in the ANC in the area which would lead to violence.

An ANC leader in Umlazi's Z section, who refused to be identified for fear of reprisal, dismissed the allegation as "nonsense".

"There is no split in the ANC. Why were our members singled out and killed? Residents have clearly identified the attackers as notorious Inkatha warlords accompanied by the KZP," he said.

KwaZulu Police were unavailable for comment on Friday afternoon.

### Joint Rallies in Durban Planned

*MB1110200291 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1945 GMT 11 Oct 91*

[By Craig Doonan]

[Text] Durban Oct 11 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] and the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] are to hold two joint rallies in Durban's troubled Umlazi township next Sunday [13 October] in an attempt to bring peace to the strife-torn area.

ANC southern Natal Secretary S'bu Ndebele said on Friday night he had led a delegation in high-level talks with Inkatha officials in Durban earlier to discuss ongoing conflict in Umlazi.

The talks follow after seven people—all ANC supporters according to the organisation—were killed in four separate attacks in Umlazi's Z section on Thursday.

Mr Ndebele said that at Friday's crisis meeting it had been decided two joint rallies would be held in separate sections of Umlazi next Sunday to call for discipline and an end to fighting among IFP and ANC supporters.

At the meeting, Mr Ndebele said, it emerged the IFP were unhappy with the SA [South African] Police's role in Umlazi while the ANC strongly disapproved of kwaZulu Police activities in the area.

These issues would continue to be taken up with the respective police forces, he added.

Mr Ndebele said the leader of the IFP delegation at the talks, Mr R.E. Mseka, had distanced himself from earlier Inkatha Institute allegations that the latest violence in Umlazi was due to an "ANC split" in the area.

### Report on Soweto Train Station Attack 13 Oct

*MB1310204891 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2045 GMT 13 Oct 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 13 SAPA—Between five and 10 people have been killed in a shooting at Soweto's Morafe station on Sunday night, unconfirmed reports have said.

The monitoring group, Peace Action, heard reports that there had been a shooting at Morafe station at about 7.30 PM.

A Peace Action spokesman, told SAPA at about 8.55 PM that the organisation had been telephoned by a resident of the area.

Further reports from unnamed residents in the area put the death toll at 10.

Soweto police liaison officer Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn told SAPA shortly after 9 PM that it was all quiet in the entire township.

In a subsequent call to Col Halgryn, SAPA was told Col Halgryn was at a crime scene "in Soweto".

No immediate confirmation of an incident at Morafe is immediately available.

### Police Confirm 10 Dead

*MB1310211491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2110 GMT 13 Oct 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 13 SAPA—A total of 10 people, eight men and two women, were shot dead and at least three injured when gunmen went on the rampage in Mapetla Soweto on Sunday night, police confirmed.

A Soweto police spokesman said a group of unknown attackers opened fire at random in the Mapetla area of Soweto.



Four people were shot at a tavern in the area and three were injured.

The gunmen then went into the street firing randomly. The other dead are believed to have died in the street shooting.

#### **Police To Investigate Merafe Link**

*MB1410074491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0713 GMT 14 Oct 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 14 SAPA—Soweto Police are investigating the possibility that hostel dwellers from Merafe were responsible for the killing of 10 people in Mapetla, Soweto, on Sunday [13 October]. This was confirmed on Monday morning by Soweto Police spokesman, Lt Col Tienie Halgryn, who said the massacre might be linked to an earlier killing.

Ten people were shot dead and four wounded when approximately 30 men opened fire in Mapetla. Four people were killed in a tavern, the balance being killed when the gunmen moved down the street shooting randomly. Col Halgryn said a variety of weapons were used, including AK-47 rifles, 9mm and 7.65mm pistols and .38 revolvers. The incident happened at 7.40pm on Sunday.

There was reported to be a heavy police presence outside Merafe hostel on Monday morning and Col Halgryn said police wanted to prevent hostel dwellers from coming in contact with Mapetla residents.

#### **Police Said Implicated in Thokoza Violence**

*MB1310133491 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR  
in English 13 Oct 91 p 1*

[Article by Sefako Nyaka, Nomavenda Mathiane: "Police Implicated in Thokoza Violence"]

[Text] "This is the man who shot me." In a dramatic development, a victim of the Thokoza funeral massacre pointed to a photograph of two police officers whom he claims fired at mourners from a moving car.

In a sworn statement he said he was shot in the buttocks and stomach by one of the policemen. His statement implicates two East Rand police officers attached to the Crime Information services [CIS] in the killing, in which 20 people died and more than 24 were injured.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman confirmed that the men identified in a photograph by the victim as his attackers are officers attached to the CIS.

Captain Opperman, shown the same photographs, said: "The men are from the Crime Information Service. It was a police car. It was with the Casspirs and other police vehicles in the vicinity the whole day."

"The car is brand new and the number plates have been ordered. That is why it did not have number plates," he said.

Yesterday police liaison officer Captain Peter van Deventer said he was aware the car had been in Thokoza. He said normally police cars that were not issued with number plates would display a temporary SAP [South African Police] registration number.

In an affidavit sworn in his hospital bed, the wounded man said he ran into Skosana section to escape the shooting.

"As I was running I noticed a white four-door vehicle in which two black men were seated, one of whom was driving, the other sitting directly behind the driver," he affidavit says.

"The vehicle was moving and both men were shooting at the crowd with automatic weapons. I saw at least two people fall as a result of the shooting. I saw no number plates on the vehicle."

He said he hid in a ditch with another man, but when he heard gunfire coming closer he tried to run away.

"As I stood up, I saw a man carrying an automatic weapon jumping over a nearby fence and running towards me. While in the ditch, I had seen the white vehicle drive past a few metres away from where I was. I was able to see the two occupants clearly. The man who jumped over the fence and ran towards me, I clearly recognised as having been the passenger sitting behind the driver in the white vehicle.

"As I saw the man running towards me I turned and fled. I was shot in the buttocks and fell face down to the ground. I tried to pull myself up but was unable to do so and fell on to my back".

The man said he passed out, but when he awoke he was being helped to a vehicle and realised he had been shot in the stomach while he was unconscious.

His allegation fuelled suspicions that the SAP is involved in "third force" killings in the townships.

When told that the men were accused of shooting people in Thokoza, Captain van Deventer said: "We deny all the allegations from all organisations and people making them; they should bear in mind that there were hundreds of media reporters, photographers and TV crews that were roaming Thokoza and Katlehong and the vicinity of Khumalo Street."

This week Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal spokesman Amos Masondo claimed police were asked to provide patrols around the hospital in the light of the May Day attack.

Captain Opperman said police did patrol the area on the day of the shooting. "We can only take steps we deem necessary at the time," Captain Opperman said.

He denied that police were shooting at mourners, but said police would investigate all allegations thoroughly.



**Police Deny Allegations**

*MB1310145691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1433 GMT 13 Oct 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 13 SAPA—The SA [South African] Police [SAP] have expressed shock and dismay at a Johannesburg news report claiming proof that two policemen were directly involved in the Thokoza funeral massacre last week.

In a statement released on Sunday afternoon, chief Witwatersrand police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe, however, continued to deny allegations that members of the force were implicated in the killings, which left 20 people dead and 24 wounded.

The newspaper quoted a man who was shot and wounded during the carnage as pointing out two policemen, who he said had fired shots from a moving car at mourners returning from the funeral of assassinated ANC [African National Congress] activist and community leader, Mr Sam Ntuli.

It also published a picture of a car and the two men who the unnamed victim had identified as his attackers. The man had, in a sworn statement, said he was shot by one of the policemen in the buttocks and stomach.

The report said police had confirmed that the two men were police officers and that the vehicle was a police car.

Col Malherbe said police admitted that the two policemen and the vehicle were present in Thokoza throughout the day of the funeral. He confirmed that the two officers had been identified.

He said police had been shocked and dismayed at the report as the Special Investigation Unit investigating the killings had—despite numerous requests—not received any response or information substantiating allegations of police involvement.

"The SA Police regard these allegations in a very serious light," he said.

He said Witwatersrand police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman had not been informed about the allegations against the two officers, when he was shown the photograph by a reporter and asked to identify the men and the vehicle.

Police had reason to believe that reporters had known about the allegations against the policemen beforehand, Col Malherbe said.

He strongly criticised the way in which the reporter and the newspaper had handled the matter, saying such important information should have been immediately reported to the police.

"It may be mentioned that anybody has access to the authorities at all levels and at all times. The victim

suffering from serious injury may have died without having the opportunity to speak to the right authorities," he said.

"By withholding the information and publishing the photographs of the so-called suspects, it amounts to defeating the end of justice.

"It is highly irregular and irresponsible to produce photos of the alleged suspects to the victim in the way it was done and to publish the same in a newspaper," he claimed.

Col Malherbe stressed that it was in the interest of society and the police that criminal elements within the force be identified and brought to justice.

He appealed to the public to assist police in their investigations and asked anyone with information to contact the Special Investigation Unit at Katlehong township, telephone number 011-9011715/6.

**Platinum Miners Protest Colleague's Dismissal**

*MB1610070991 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2059 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 15 SAPA—Thousands of miners at a platinum mine in Bophuthatswana began an underground protest on Tuesday and authorities deployed security forces amid rising tension, according to the National Union of Mineworkers [NUM].

The workers at Impala platinum's Wildebeestfontein mine, near Rustenburg, began a sit-in on Tuesday afternoon in protest against the alleged dismissal of a colleague, said NUM spokesman Mr Jerry Majatladi.

Management spokesman Mr Laing Geldenhuys said in a statement on Tuesday night that about 7,000 of 8,000 workers staged the sit-in and barred 50 supervisors from getting to the surface.

Bophuthatswana police and soldiers have been deployed on the mine, Mr Majatladi charged, adding tension was rising.

Both management and the union said no violence was reported.

They said intensive talks were underway to settle the crisis triggered over the dismissal of a key figure in the workers negotiating committee last week.

Mr Geldenhuys said workers began emerging to the surface at 9 PM [1900 GMT] after several appeals. Mr Majatladi said union officials were battling to persuade the protesters to abandon the protests with little success.

The workers went underground at 3 AM [0100 GMT] and were scheduled to come to surface at 2 PM [1200 GMT].

Mr Majatladi urged management to ensure no violence erupted at the mine where at least 21 lives have been lost in violence in the past three months.

Company comment could not be obtained on the apparent deployment of security forces.

#### Number of Strikers Increases to 16,000

MB1610092791 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0859 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 16 SAPA—A strike by about 7,000 miners at Impala platinum's Wildebeestfontein North mine spread to another compound in Bophuthatswana on Wednesday morning, raising to 16,000 the number of employees refusing to work.

A statement by Genmin [General Mining, Metals and Minerals] said the Wildebeestfontein South mine had now been hit by the wildcat stoppage. Production had ceased completely.

"Yesterday afternoon, some 7,000 workers staged an underground sit-in at Wildebeestfontein North mine and prevented some supervisory personnel from leaving the underground areas.

"After consultations with employee representatives and several appeals by management, employees began to come to the surface at 21:00 last night (15 October 1991) and by 02:00 this morning (16 October 1991), all the shafts were clear."

Management said indications were that the protest could be linked to the dismissal of an employee last week.

"Further discussions between management and employee representatives will be held today (Wednesday)."

Impala's three other operations in Bophuthatswana, the mineral processes plant, Bafokeng North mine and Bafokeng South mine, have not been affected by the industrial action.

About 50 per cent of Impala's platinum production comes from the two mines affected by the industrial action, management pointed out.

On Tuesday night, National Union of Mineworkers official Jerry Majatladi charged that Bophuthatswana police and soldiers had been deployed at the mining compounds.

But, this was not confirmed by management.

#### Press Reviews Current Events, Issues

##### 11 Oct Newspapers

MB1110115791

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

Political, Other Crime Boundary Line 'Blurred'—"The boundary line between straight crime and political crime is increasingly blurred," points out a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 11 October. "A direct link between the two has been exposed by Soweto police. Their detective work led to the smashing of an arms syndicate and the recovery of a minor arsenal of weapons, including 11 AK-47 rifles and three machine pistols. Interrogation of three arrested members of the syndicate led to another interesting discovery: they were stealing cars to finance the purchase of guns before reselling them at a profit. Many of those guns undoubtedly ended up in the hands of 'comrades' or 'vigilantes'." Therefore, it is "not enough to retreat into barricaded suburban fortresses and hope that the violence outside will pass by. It will not. There is a desperate need for all South Africans to work for peace in the townships in whatever way they can. Supporting the National Peace Accord is as important as calling for increased recruitment by the police or installing burglar alarms and panic buttons."

#### NEW NATION

No Mechanisms To Implement Peace Principles—"Events in Thokoza in the past two weeks have subjected the National Peace Accord to its toughest credibility test since its signing almost a month ago on September 14," begins the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 11-17 October. "Allegations against the police range from claims of direct complicity in the Thokoza shootings to a general unwillingness to act against killers in the township. It is natural for police to deny these allegations. But how then does one explain the attacks that are carried out—in broad daylight—and with such impunity." The National Peace Committee "blames its own paralysis on the absence of the necessary mechanisms needed to check violations of the accord. That the peace accord amounts to no more than a set of general principles without the necessary mechanisms to implement it, is indisputable."

#### THE WEEKLY MAIL

ANC Unlikely To Want 'Joint Responsibility' of Interim Government—"Before the African National Congress [ANC] continues demanding an interim government, it might consider what it would do if it got one," writes Steven Friedman in his "Worm's Eye" column on page 15 of Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 11-17 October. "If some commentators are right, the ANC is stepping up mass action on VAT [value-added tax] and is trying to discourage foreign loans because it hopes this will force the Nats [National Party] to concede interim government. That strategy might just work." But interim government means "joint responsibility as well as joint power. The ANC wants the power, but does it want the responsibility?" "ANC leaders seem to imply that interim government would mean the end of the present government and the beginning of 'people's

power'. Many of its activists have high expectations that interim government will produce the power they seek. But, ANC leaders know, interim government would mean less than that since the ANC would still have to share power with the Nats in an interim cabinet." "Ironically, the more the ANC relies on protest politics to gain an interim government, the less able will it be to take its supporters with it once it wins that demand." "Recent ANC statements suggest that its leaders still believe that stepped-up rhetoric is the way to retain support in the movement. If raising expectations rather than dampening them is the route to popularity now, why should it not be in an interim government?" If the ANC wants to be part of an effective government, "it might have to begin preparing for compromise sooner rather than later."

'Professional Force' Behind Violence—The page 16 editorial states that the "significantly worsening relations between the African National Congress and the government, and the resort to language that verges on a breach of the [national peace] accord, has prompted fears that the accord is being stretched to breaking point." THE WEEKLY MAIL believes the "main motive behind the violence" in the Thokoza township following civic leader Sam Ntuli's funeral this week, is to "sabotage the peace." "The strongest clue to the identity of the assailants is their probable effect—undermining the process of change that would lead to one person, one vote elections and a probable ANC victory at the polls." President De Klerk and his advisers "have to accept that the killings are being perpetrated by an organised, professional force dedicated to undermining the peace process."

#### 14 Oct Newspapers

MB1410123091

[Editorial Report]

#### SATURDAY STAR

Police Integrity on Line in Arrest of Attackers—The South African Police's [SAP's] track record on investigation and arrest of the people who attack commuters on trains with knives, clubs and AK-47s has given rise to "frustration—leading to cynicism" writes Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English on 13 October in its page 12 editorial. The arrest of two attackers by "citizens' arrest" represents a "breakthrough": "The suspects are no longer shadowy men in balaclavas; they have names and addresses, affiliations, and stories to tell. This makes it imperative that the SAP uses all necessary means to ensure that the suspects are kept safely in detention, can appear in court as soon as possible, and are vigorously prosecuted." The SAP's decision to move the prisoners from the hospital to a safer place is a good one. "It is a matter of some concern, however, that a group of men who reportedly turned up at the hospital asking after the suspects were apparently not questioned. The odds must surely be high that they know things which may be of interest to the police." "The performance of the police in this matter will be regarded by the public as a test of their integrity."

#### SUNDAY TIMES

South Africa Leading Wave of Economic Reformism—In a continent beset by economic problems and the struggle towards multi-party democracy, "South Africa has moved a considerable way along the road to multi-party democracy," and "is increasingly a proponent of economic realism," writes Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 13 October in its page 22 editorial. Given the economic performance of the rest of sub-Saharan Africa and lenders and donors reactions and increasingly restrictive conditions, "African leaders may despair about this economic recolonisation but most know that there is only one thing worse than Western imperialism—and that is Western indifference." "In pulling itself free of its own past, the South African Government is in a way leading a wave of economic reformism on the continent. For this it is receiving tentative, often tantalizing, encouragement from Western investors, governments, and multilateral agencies. Many see South Africa as the channel for investment and development in the region. This, then, is a fragile moment for South Africa. It stands in the middle of a difficult process of domestic transition, surrounded by an expectant region which counts among its number some of the poorest nations on earth. The conciliatory noises from Commonwealth members, even from the liturgically antagonistic Robert Mugabe, bode well. They signal an acceptance that beyond the divides of the past, the posturings and mythologising of the present, there is one compelling reality: the time left to halt sub-Saharan Africa's slide into economic ruin is pressingly short."

ANC Proposal for 'Capital Levy' 'Loony Tunes'—In a second page 22 editorial, Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 13 October writes: "Having given the world's investors the heebie-jeebies, ANC strategists now seem bent on frightening everybody who owns anything of any value, however small, at home. The scheme proposed by an ANC lawyer at the Affirmative Action think-tank this week for a 'capital levy' of one-third of the wealth of all individuals to spend on addressing the inequities of apartheid is, frankly, loony." Anybody who owns anything would sell it; if he has savings, he would spend them. "There would be no incentive whatever to earn or accumulate anything of value in either cash or kind. The second thing he could do is emigrate—assuming that wasn't the first thing he did." "The conference seems to have been obsessed with crudely wresting power and privilege from one group and handing it to another, rather than addressing realistically the opportunities political freedom should open up. Another idea was to create a deliberate (though ill-defined) 'crisis' for business in order to force the pace of black advancement. This is ominous talk. Even if it never goes beyond the rhetoric, it can only further erode the level of confidence in the ANC's ability to deal with economic realities."



### SUNDAY STAR

**Double-Talk A Luxury We Can't Afford**—"Hardened politicians habitually play the double game of heaping insults and rhetoric in public while indulging in friendly chats and negotiations in private. But in South Africa, political double-talk has become a luxury we cannot afford. Politicians such as President de Klerk and Mr Mandela may feel they had to make headline statements over the past few weeks to play to their respective galleries while at the same time trying to keep negotiations on track. The danger is that some of their supporters who are not familiar with the rules of the political game could take the rhetoric too literally—with dire consequences. The political mudslinging of the past year seems to have inflamed violence—which is why the National Peace Accord sets out to tone down political language. Politicians should keep this in mind even in the heat of party congress season."

### BUSINESS DAY

**South Africa and the Commonwealth Conference**—South Africa [SA] will dominate this week's Commonwealth conference in Harare, "but this time South Africa's influence need not be malign, and it may well prove constructive," says a page 8 editorial in the Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY on 14 October, entitled "SA and the Club." While "things have not turned out quite as some had hoped" when it had been thought there might be visits by Commonwealth leaders or even a joint invitation to President de Klerk and African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela to discuss reforms, it "is a pity," "but it is not a disaster." The editorial points out that sanctions will be an issue, with Britain arguing to end them and the ANC and Pan-Africanist Congress arguing they should stay. "The Commonwealth may decide to lift only cultural and tourism bans, and possibly allow a resumption of sports links. That at least is progress." South Africa is no longer considered "irredeemably evil" but the arguments now are over "how best to restore us to political respectability." While not there yet, "we are moving towards practices which will put some former critics to shame" and "are in step with a more open world in espousing universal franchise, a multiparty democracy and a bill of rights enforceable by the courts. We might, at last, be held up as a different sort of example."

**'Critical Responsibility' of Police To Guard Captured Gunmen**—in a second editorial on the same page entitled: "Answers at last?" BUSINESS DAY reveals the capture of two alleged gunmen by "courageous commuters" on the Katlehong-Germiston train. They "have provided the police with the breakthrough they need" and the police have a "critical responsibility" to guard the prisoners with their lives. The prisoners may hold the key to the reign of terror in the trains and streets for which the police have often been blamed. "The progress of their investigations will be watched with rapt attention."

### SOWETAN

**Police Must Investigate Charges on Involvement in Funeral Killings**—The police "must be under no illusions about the seriousness of the allegations in yesterday's SUNDAY STAR" begins the first of two editorials on page 6 of the Johannesburg SOWETAN on 14 October. That paper published pictures of two policemen alleged to have participated in last week's Thokoza "funeral massacre." The police "admit" the two men were there, but "deny that they took any part." They have also "heaped abuse" on the SUNDAY STAR, but say they are investigating. "They should spare no effort." This time there are pictures, names, and specific allegations. "This time the police must investigate the matter to its roots and what is more, this time they must do so in public."

**ANC Assets Levy Proposal Worth 'Closer Look'**—The African National Congress proposal for a once-off levy on South Africans with assets exceeding 500,000 rand "is worth a closer look" begins the second SOWETAN editorial on 14 October on page 6. "We can't shy away from the fact that apartheid impoverished the black community" and that such communities must be upgraded. "The ANC plan will help in this regard." Those who benefited from apartheid are being asked to assist those who did not, but blacks who fit into the criteria will also be affected. "This is a national strategy for redistribution and development in which all who qualify participate."

### 15 Oct Newspapers

MB1510122191

[Editorial Report]

### THE CITIZEN

**Government To Act on Crime**—"Do we simply have to shrug off the mounting crime wave by blaming it all on socio-economic conditions, joblessness, the poor state of the economy, the effects of sanctions, deprivation, anger, hopelessness?" asks the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 11 October. The paper urges the government to: "Get the courts to impose severe sentences for armed robberies. Bring special courts into being not only to deal with political but also criminal violence. End the moratorium on hangings. Let criminals know they face the death penalty if they kill people. Yes, there is a lot that can be done, so let's stop hearing excuses; let's have action now."

### THE STAR

**'Wealth Tax' 'Punishment, Not A Panacea'**—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 15 October in a page 18 editorial points out that "we are already in the qualification/denial stage of the latest ANC [African National Congress] economic proposal for the new SA [South Africa]. Nelson Mandela has said whites will not, as reports suggested, be taxed to the tune of one third of their accumulated wealth." As with the pronouncements

on nationalization or the nonrepayment of loans, "no one is quite sure which ANC statements should be taken as authoritative. However, as far as the white psyche is concerned, the damage has been done." "Stripped of sophistry, the 'wealth tax' message to middle-class whites is: you can stay in this country, but you must realise you will spend the rest of your lives atoning for past sins. It is a message that runs counter to Nelson Mandela's reconciliatory statements on the role whites could play in a non-racial democracy." THE STAR believes the "wealth tax" proposal is "unworkable," because "it would be a punishment, not a panacea. There is not enough wealth among ordinary whites to address black poverty."

#### BUSINESS DAY

ANC's 'Ridiculous' Economic Ideas—A page 14 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 15 October refers to the ANC's "ridiculous, uninformed ideas—such as 33 percent wealth tax, nationalisation and non-payment of foreign loans—which flow with depressing regularity from the organisation." "Every gaffe demonstrates an embarrassing degree of economic illiteracy in the ANC." "When leaders talk glibly about nationalisation, when they tell supporters that South Africa's only economic problem is white greed, they encourage the view that economic solutions are to be forwarded in popular slogans. It is widely accepted that part of the solution includes reparation for past wrongs, but it cannot include confiscation of huge chunks of citizen's personal assets."

#### SOWETAN

Editorial Supports Assets Levy—"Predictably, proposals that a levy should be imposed on all South Africans with assets exceeding R[and]100,000 has stunned the business world and most white South Africans," begins a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 15 October. "No one, it appears, has asked why this option was considered in the first place. Apartheid created a wealthy white class and an impoverished black community. Small wonder all lauded President F. W. de Klerk when he scrapped apartheid legislation. For blacks, however, apartheid will be seen to be truly dead when their lives are better than what they were when it was still in force." SOWETAN believes "remedying the damage caused by apartheid to blacks is more than an emergency. It is the difference between continued strife or future stability. Surely, South Africa's whites should by now be aware that they can't want change, and then still want to hold on to all they have reaped from apartheid."

#### CAPE TIMES

Violence Major Threat To Economy—Gerald Shaw writes in his "Political Survey" column on page 6 of Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 11 October that the run-up to negotiation is entering a "dangerous muscle-flexing and chest-beating phase as the main protagonists, the NP [National Party] and the ANC, square up to each other in fierce adversarial style. And both parties are

neglecting to maintain the minimum discipline and order in their ranks which will be needed if negotiations are to prosper." "Yet the continuing violence is much more devastating, economically speaking, than imprudent ANC rhetoric. The violence is destroying any hope at all of reviving confidence." "Whatever the ANC says, until Mr De Klerk shows that the State is in control it is idle to expect a revival of confidence and economic growth—or any real headway in negotiation."

#### CITY PRESS

Concern Over Claims of Police Complicity in Killings—"South Africa is probably the only country in the world where killers get away with murder," notes a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 13 October. Allegations of police complicity and indifference "abound." While CITY PRESS has no evidence of this complicity it is "concerned about the security forces' lack of action." "What has happened to the investigative capabilities of the police? What has happened to their extensive information-gathering network that was used to good effect against organisations like the ANC when they were still banned?"

#### \* Function of National Security System Discussed

92AF0002A VRYE WEEKBLAD in Afrikaans  
9-16 Aug 91 p 9

[Report by Hennie Serfontein: "The Poor Man's Great Hendrik"]

[Text] State President F.W. de Klerk introduced several changes to the national security system during his first year in office. However, the security intelligence to which State President F.W. de Klerk apparently reacts these days invites the question: Is one set of hawks not merely being replaced by another set. Hennie Serfontein reports.

The changes during the past year in the national security system resulted in a considerable decrease in the influence of the military, and greater involvement by non-security departments and civilians.

But now that the armed forces have been pushed to the background again, Niel Barnard, the head of the National Intelligence Service [NI], has surfaced as the most important figure in the new state security structure.

This week Barnard has been described by "reformist" elements in the security apparatus as a "fundamentalist," a "manic communist hater," and "actually only a P.W. [Botha] type."

The former State President, P.W. Botha, smashed the position of power which NI's predecessor, the Bureau for State Security, had and made the military all-powerful. Under F.W. de Klerk the NI has a considerably stronger position again.

(A politician who had an unpleasant experience with Barnard recently called the NI head "the poor man's Great Hendrik van den Berg.")

The new security system works as follows:

The state security system is replaced by a cabinet committee for Security Affairs (KKV). It consists of the State President and the ministers of Defense, Justice, Law and Order, Foreign Affairs, and Finance.

The Coordinating Intelligence Committee (KIK), under Barnard's chairmanship, is separate from the KKV and includes the directors general of the above-mentioned departments. Formerly it was directly under the control of the State President, but now it is under the supervision of Theo Alant, who is also the adjunct minister of Finance.

This means that Alant, together with the NI, will be able to exert strict control over the financial side of secret projects.

The National Coordinating Center (NKS) has its headquarters in the Union building and is under the control of Hennie Botha, formerly a brigadier in the Prison Service.

The NKS is directly linked to the KKV and submits proposals. That entity coordinates all intelligence on security, politics, social, and economic matters.

If, for example, the KKV were to plan a certain action, the NKS gets involved to prevent overlapping by another department from taking place.

De Klerk finds it very important that the security structure should not overlap with tasks which are already done by, or are being planned by, the department which chiefly has that line function and responsibility.

State services sources told VRYE WEEKBLAD this week that during the P.W. Botha era the armed forces simply did whatever they wanted. In many cases there was abominable overlapping with what nonsecurity departments were already doing.

Then there are local coordinating committees which have replaced the national security administration system. They work at the local level and are managed by a joint coordinating committee at the regional level.

This differs in two important aspects from the joint management committee system (GBS) of the past. Both at the local and regional levels, the chairpersons or conveners are always civilians. And the nonsecurity departments are being more curtailed than in the past.

The transfer earlier this year of a senior official of the National Intelligence Service (NI), Mauritz Spaarwater, to a key position in the Department of Political Development, is seen in political circles as one of the most comic-ironic events in many years.

That is because this takes place almost two years after NI decided, at the highest level, to intervene and see to it that the security clearings of two top officials of Political Development were retracted.

The transgression of one of them was the unforgivable sin of allegedly having had contact with the ANC [African National Congress] in Lusaka. The other's sin was that his wife was a member of the Black Sash, which never was a forbidden organization.

They are Kobus Jordaan, currently the Democratic Party Member of Parliament for Umhlanga, and Fanie Cloete, now a professor in Development Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University.

Spaarwater was an adjunct director general of NI. His task included the evaluation and analysis of the political situation from an intelligence angle. First he was an attorney and afterward he was with the Military Intelligence (MI) before he came to NI in 1981.

In March of this year, Spaarwater was transferred from NI to Political Development as executive director of a new directorate. His task is twofold. On the one hand, his directorate must analyze the political situation and evaluate all political parties, especially in relation to the negotiation process. On the other hand, it plays a supporting role in the negotiation process.

Spaarwater told VRYE WEEKBLAD this week: "I do not wish to say anything about my transfer."

Ironically enough, in spite of the dubious role of the NI in the earlier stage of the negotiation process, the ANC itself has a high opinion of Spaarwater as a human being.

He was indeed the person who in December 1989 had the first formal secret meeting, on behalf of the government, with the ANC in Geneva, Switzerland. That discussion with a few top ANC leaders, including Thabo Mbeki, was first approved by the State Security Council. That was only three months after F.W. de Klerk took over as State President from P.W. Botha.

Spaarwater was indeed, right from the beginning, a member of the joint task force of the ANC and the government, called into being after 2 February last year to tackle the various obstacles which stood in the way of true negotiations.

At the end of October 1988, a political storm burst out about Jordaan and Cloete when they lost their security clearing.

It was primarily a matter of the position of Chris Heunis, the then minister.

VRYE WEEKBLAD learned this week that highly placed intelligence figures were responsible for the leak to the press. For Heunis, the goal was that P.W. Botha had to be replaced by Pik Botha.



And in NI circles there was deep concern about the "leftist bent" of Political Development and the type of "radical proposals" made by Cloete and Jordaan. Those two were opposed to the state of emergency and advocated direct negotiations with the ANC and lifting the ban on all political organizations.

It is also known that Niel Barnard, the director general of NI, as late as October 1989, personally opposed and tried to stop the visit of prominent Afrikaner figures, including Willie Esterhuyse, to the ANC.

Barnard's position at that stage, according to informed government sources through the years, was very simplistic: The ANC is the enemy. The government is in the process of getting the upper hand, and within a short time the ANC will be defeated and will no longer be an essential factor. One should not talk with them.

His advice was rejected, and those secret meetings in England—already the third in a series—indeed paved the way for the later NI meeting with Mbeki at the end of the year.

But Barnard and NI continued to slander the ANC and to treat it as Enemy Number One. It is known that even up until August last year Barnard and the NI leadership stated very clearly on more than one occasion that 2 February 1990 had not changed anything and that the ANC continued to be an archthreat.

VRYE WEEKBLAD learns that after Cloete's and Jordan's heads rolled, NI decided to create its own planning units on politics, the economy, and related matters, parallel with similar institutions such as Political Development.

Fanie Cloete makes the following statement about the new role of Spaarwater and the conversion of the NI to negotiations with the ANC: "I find it interesting that the policy of the government, only 14 months after action had been taken against us, has changed so much that the reasons why action was taken against us now suddenly have become government policy."

#### \* Military Cuts: Preparing for Civil Defense

92AF0002B DIE PATRIOT in Afrikaans 9 91 p 20

[Report by Jannie Hennop: "Krygkor Victim of the 'New SA'; Army Officers Furious about Cuts"]

[Text] The role of the SA [Republic of South Africa] Armed Forces in a future "New South Africa" is taking its toll. The once powerful backbone of the South African arms industry, Krygkor, is faced with further rationalization measures.

Krygkor is known for the manufacturing of quality weapons such as the world-famous G5 and G6 cannons. Those cannons, which were sold to other countries on a large scale, presumably brought in a lot of money to South Africa. The most recent showpiece of Krygkor is the Redcat armored vehicle which, according to those in the know, can be compared to the best in the world.

During the past months Krygkor has been plagued by the rationalization measures, which also seriously affected its affiliated companies. Various highly trained employers, such as engineers, had to find a livelihood elsewhere due to the rationalization process.

PATRIOT meanwhile has learned from an authoritative source that there is great dissatisfaction among high officers in the army about drastic retrenchment measures which they have just been told about. Senior officers are very disillusioned about the future after they were informed of cuts to the amount of several hundred millions of rands. Military observers believe that the SA Armed Forces have shifted the emphasis from heavy weapons to a large force of well-trained foot soldiers. One of the most important reasons apparently is the absence of a conventional threat such as a hostile neighboring state. On the other hand, the persisting disturbances in the interior require a larger number of manpower and the SA Police can no longer deal with the situation alone.

Some people also think that more and more whites will refuse to do compulsory military service in the future and that especially members of the civilian force, whose assistance is currently relied upon in trying to suppress black violence, are losing their patience.

That action can put a spoke in the wheels of the Government's plans for a "New South Africa," and therefore attempts are now being made to neutralize it.

The Armed Forces evidently are trying to establish a larger and better infantry corps. That can be made possible because there are no urgent projects for heavy weapons which are of "national importance." Further, projects which are to design, test, and manufacture heavy weapons cost astronomical amounts which in view of the drastic curtailment of the defense budget will just not be viable.

Krygkor has announced that it wants to be cut loose from the SA Armed Forces in the future and that in time it will be placed under the Department of Economic Coordination and Public Enterprises. Thus it looks as if Krygkor in the future perhaps will be able to focus more on the manufacturing of consumer goods.

#### \* Homelands' Role in Covert Action Revealed

##### \* ANC Targeted

92AF0016A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 6-12 Sep 91 p 6

[Text] It has emerged that the South African government used homeland armies during cross-border raids aimed at ANC [African National Congress] targets in the neighboring states.



New Nation is able to reveal that the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) participated in attacks on ANC targets in Maseru, Lesotho, during the early 1980s.

The TDF's participation in the raids was reportedly sanctioned by then Transkei president George Matanzima.

The Venda Defence Force (VDF) is reported to have taken part in raids or at least acts of espionage on ANC installations in Zimbabwe and Zambia.

Reports of TDF involvement in raids in Maseru were confirmed by former Lesotho foreign affairs and finance minister Evaristus Sekhonyana, who said the ANC once requested him to approach Matanzima about the issue.

Sekhonyana, who was at one time thought to be a friend of Matanzima, said: "I went to the Transkei to confront George on why the Transkei Defence Force participated in the SADF [South African Defense Force] attack on Maseru.

"George said, 'I was retaliating because an ANC man bombed the Butterworth police station, and that man came from Maseru'.

"I said to him 'you were yourself a member of the ANC Youth League, how can you do this?'"

Sekhonyana said he then urged the Transkei president to talk to the ANC and Matanzima said: "OK, it may be possible."

Transkei military leader General Bantu Holomisa said he did not know of any TDF participation in the Maseru attacks, but he said he could not dismiss the possibility.

According to Holomisa, such an operation could have been carried out by a mercenary unit of the TDF.

He said he was the commander of the First Battalion, the TDF's biggest, and he would have been informed if the operation had been an overt activity.

Venda's military ruler, Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, is believed to have infiltrated the ANC in Lusaka for several years. He served with Ian Smith's forces during the liberation war in Zimbabwe, and also fought in Namibia and Angola.

A former security policeman, Ramushwana has featured prominently in several court cases in which ANC guerrillas have claimed they were tortured by him or in his presence.

He has denied these allegations.

Other enemies of the liberation movement in the homeland armies include Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Gqozo has served in the SADF and received training in Lenasia, near Soweto, before joining the Ciskei Defence Force.

Ciskei chief of staff Gert Cornelius Hugo, who fled the Ciskei in July this year, alleged that he had been told by the head of the now-dissolved International Research (IR), Anton Nieuwoudt, that Gqozo was on the payroll of the SADF's Military Intelligence.

However, according to Hugo, Gqozo's hostility to the ANC is the result of incorrect information—supplied to him by the IR—of threats against his life and his government.

#### \* Ciskei Intelligence Links

92AF0016B Johannesburg THE NEW NATION  
in English 6-12 Sep 91 p 7

[Article: "How Intelligence Group Fed Gqozo Disinformation"]

[Text] Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) chief of staff Gert Cornelius Hugo, who fled the homeland in July this year, has claimed that the intelligence unit, International Research (IR), boosted its credibility with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo by feeding him disinformation.

In a statement he gave under oath soon after he arrived in the Transkei to seek refuge, Hugo described how IR, which has since dissolved, was formed.

"A retired SADF [South African Defense Force] major, Ted Brassel, who served at Group 8, East London, in an intelligence capacity was the initial stimulus that gave momentum to the later recruitment of Anton Nieuwoudt," he said.

He said Brassel was an old friend of Gqozo and had retired from the SADF just before the Ciskei coup that put Gqozo in power.

"Through old friendship ties, he managed to secure a post for himself in the Council of State. He was placed in charge of Gqozo's bodyguard contingent, and this is where things started getting out of hand in Ciskei," Hugo claimed.

According to Hugo, Nieuwoudt was an SADF colonel working for military intelligence and an old instructor of Gqozo. Nieuwoudt was a lieutenant in Lenasia when Gqozo was a corporal instructor there, after Gqozo was recruited from the prison services.

Hugo said the two officers at the head of the International Research ranks fed Gqozo with fabricated information of threats against his life and government. They did this to justify the existence of the body.

According to Hugo, the two openly told other officers that they needed to do this kind of thing as they had nowhere else to go.

In the meantime, Hugo said, Nieuwoudt had and still has "a constant and open liaison with the SADF's military intelligence".

"This leads me to believe that the establishment of the International Research could be an undercover operation by the SADF. Nieuwoudt once mentioned to me that Gqozo himself was on the payroll of the SADF military intelligence.

"This could have been bragging, lying, deception or whatever. With him, you never know," Hugo said.

Observers in the homeland believe the dissolution of IR was aimed at averting criticism from the military government. Its functions would continue to be carried out by the Ciskei Intelligence Services, they said.

Hugo claimed that IR used to be called Ciskei Intelligence Services.

It soon became "a haven for all jobless ex-CCB [Civil Cooperation Bureau] and Special Forces individuals", said Hugo.

"They were all identified plus recruited by Nieuwoudt to enhance his power base in Ciskei".

According to Hugo, the IR advised Gqozo that there was "a dire need to develop the Ciskei Parachute Regiment into a formidable fighting force seeing that the ANC [African National Congress] was ready to take over Ciskei by force".

Former SADF chief Jan Breytenback, Hugo claimed, was recruited to set up the new regiment.

Hugo claimed that because of information IR gave to Gqozo, many CDF officers had been constantly intimidated. This was among the reasons why a group of army officers petitioned Gqozo to resign last year.

Hugo was this week extradited by consent to Ciskei to face theft charges.

The charges arise from the alleged theft of sensitive documents belonging to the IR.

He appeared in the Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court and was released on R[ands] 3,000 bail. The case was postponed to October 4.

#### \* Moss gas Project Revealed as Economic Liability

##### \* Government Admits Error

92AF0022A Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS  
in English 6 Sep 91 p 13

[Article by Michael Chester—First paragraph was in boxed in area in article]

[Text] The government has finally confirmed what critics have been warning about for at least two years—that the multi-billion rand [R] Moss gas oil project has proved a monumental mistake. The burden on taxpayers has not ended yet, reports Michael Chester.

The multibillion-rand Moss gas synthetic fuel project on the Eastern Cape coastline has turned out to be the costliest blunder yet forced on South African taxpayers.

When first launched four years ago the project was seen by government mandarins as a stroke of strategic genius—a new layer of protective armoury against the risk of cuts in fuel supplies from a hostile outside world turning the sanctions screws on apartheid.

But even the enthusiasm of the government has wilted as total cost estimates have soared and the economic viability of the project has slipped into thick mist.

Even before taxpayers have seen the first trickle of petrol and diesel from the vast operation, the government has at last conceded that it was all a huge error.

Deputy Finance Minister Mr. Theo Alant told the Free State National Party congress in Bloemfontein on Tuesday: "With hindsight, Moss gas was a bad investment."

The admission was a long time in the pipeline. As far back as April 1989 a senior lecturer at the Wits University department of chemical engineering, Mr. Mike Smith, emerged from research with the verdict: "A disgraceful and deplorable financial disaster—a rip-off from beginning to end."

Within months the critics were multiplying. Energy consultant Mr. Jan Hoogendoorn, a former senior general manager at Sasol [South African Coal, Oil, and Gas Corporation] challenged claims about the strategic importance of the project and suggested that the government should scrap the whole venture immediately.

By early 1990 even Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dr. Dawie de Villiers was looking embarrassed and admitting that it was "highly unlikely" that the government would renew its decision, if asked to do so again now, on the basis of the new bundle of facts and figures now at hand. But he argued the project had gone too far to abandon it.

Engen, the company created by Gencor when it was awarded the contract to handle the management of the project, confirmed yesterday that Moss gas operations—both offshore, where rigs are drilling below the Indian Ocean to find gas, and onshore, where the gas will be converted into petrol and diesel—should be completed by November.

Synthetic fuel should be flowing along the pipelines by the middle of next year.

But how fast will be the flow and at what cost?

When mooted in 1987 the Moss gas project at Mossel Bay was going to cost about R5.3 billion. By mid-1989 estimates were running at R7.8 billion. By 1990 estimates had bounded to \$8.8 billion.

Current guesstimates put final costs at R11 billion and perhaps as high as R14 billion.

It has been a catalogue of disasters. It was originally estimated that the labour force would reach no more than 8,000 when construction was at a peak.

It rose to 15,000 in the gale winds of labour unrest and the failure of suppliers to meet deadlines.

A year ago the planners momentarily thought they might be able to justify it all when Iraq invaded Kuwait and oil prices climbed into orbit.

When crude prices doubled from \$20 to around \$40 a barrel the mandarins in Pretoria settled back with assessments that Moss gas looked set to save South Africa a creditable R1 billion a year when it reached full production in 1992.

The end of the Gulf war snuffed out the euphoria.

Crude is now on sale on world markets at \$16 a barrel. Few petro-economists see the price creeping even as high as \$25 by the end of the 1990s.

So where does that leave Moss gas?

Its strategic relevance comes into perspective with estimates that in full production it will produce no more than about 27,000 barrels a day, compared to 120,000 a day by Sasol and total South African demands running at 330,000 a day.

It means Moss gas, even at full tilt, will be able to cope with little more than 8 percent of total local demands.

And the cost structures worsen the deeper they are examined.

Market analysts have worked out that world oil prices would need to streak as high as \$50 a barrel—beyond even the worst nightmares—before Moss gas could hope to break even as an investment.

Even Moss gas managing director Mr. Bernard Smith admits that international price levels would need to touch \$37 a barrel—more than double the current level—to pull out of the red and show no better than a zero real rate of return on all the funds ploughed in so far.

One independent analysis has set out to show that petrol prices at filling stations would need to rise no less than 86 cents—over and above recent increases—to move Moss gas into profit. That, of course, would be political as well as economic suicide.

So taxpayers have not reached the end of the road even yet. There have been estimates that Moss gas will require annual subsidies running at no less than R1 billion over the next several years to keep going.

#### \* Wastage Cited

92AF0022B Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS  
in English 7 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

[Article by Michael Chester]

[Text] Inflated pay packets and gross wastage at the multi-billion-rand [R] Moss gas oil-from-the-sea project on the Eastern Cape coastline have been exposed by a former contract worker.

He produced proof that, as a storeman engaged at one of the warehouses on the vast site, he was paid almost R20,000 a month—a salary normally reserved for top executives.

"We've all been on a gravy train," he said.

"No wonder everybody says it's turned out to be a goldplated white elephant."

"Until now I've been minding my own business," he said.

"But now that the disaster of Moss gas is out in the open I thought it time to start giving a few clues to why costs have zoomed so high."

Details he gave are bound to add to the controversy that has burst over government admissions that the R14 billion project has with hindsight proved a bad investment.

The controversy is expected to become still more heated when Moss gas starts the first flow of petrol and diesel in the middle of next year—and taxpayers probe deeper into their real cost.

Experts have warned that production costs will be so high that the project will still be swallowing subsidies of about R1 billion a year to keep going.

The storeman, now back home in Germiston, told me: "When I was taken on by one of the contract companies, I picked up \$4,122, plus a R750 settling-in allowance, in the first four days."

"That is more than even the most experienced storeman earns in four weeks. Pay is usually from around R2,500 to \$4,000 a month at best."

"What's more, like hundreds of others, my own contract, even as a storeman, stipulated that all living expenses were covered by free board and lodging—in my case at a seaside motel where the accommodation and restaurant were excellent."

"The contract also gave the assurance of free company transport back and forth to work with the option of travel expenses at 82 cents a kilometre if I used my own car."

"The gravy train really started rolling, even though I volunteered to work long hours, when I moved onto the monthly salary payroll."



"In the next four weeks, I was paid R18,963—R18,095 in basic wages, plus R868 every month as a so-called site allowance. Living by the sea—all expenses paid...Lekker [great]."

Scales of pay were not the only item that shocked the storeman, who asked not to be identified because leaking such information could jeopardise his chances of finding new employment.

"The dreadful mess inside the huge warehouses where I was set to work was incredible," he said.

"It would never have been tolerated for a second at the average civil engineering site."

Included in the mess, he said, were:

- "Tens of thousands of rand's worth of imported electronic and engineering components that not even the computer catalogues could trace;"
- "Hundreds of crates that contained pieces of equipment that nobody was able to identify—let alone explain what they were supposed to be used for or why they had been ordered in the first place;"
- "Fragile components that had been half-unpacked and left outside exposed to all weathers and the corrosive salt air from the sea—now all ruined;"
- "Electric motors, worth R28,000 each and with the invoices still attached, simply left out in the veld—now worthless;" and
- "Valuable stainless steel components that had gone missing and finally found, now useless, as far as two kilometres from the warehouse out in the veld."

And he added: "On one occasion there was a desperate hue and cry to find two huge industrial air dryers that were urgently needed. Because of poor stocktaking and storage, it took us two months to find them—buried and unmarked behind a pile of packing cases."

"Nobody seemed to give a damn," said the storeman. "If a consignment was missing—order a new one, whatever the expense."

"The delays in tracing equipment, all caused by the lack of proper records, caused an untold number of hold-ups on the project. No wonder costs have been going through the roof."

The storeman said there was also constant friction about the number of highly-paid expatriates brought in.

#### \* Investigation Demanded

92AF0022C Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS in  
English 7 Sep 91 p 7

[Article by Frans Esterhuyse]

[Text] The rising cost of the giant Moss gas fuel project has become a major headache for the government—and is likely to be a millstone around the neck of any future government.

New calls are being made for an independent investigation into the future of the multi-billion rand [R] project following an admission from the government this week that Moss gas was a bad investment.

The government's dilemma, according to analysts, is that the project cannot be abandoned because too much taxpayers' money has been invested in it—and, it can't go ahead without hidden costs to keep it going.

It is like riding a tiger and being unable to get off. The only difference is that Moss gas is not a tiger, but a colossal white elephant.

Democratic Party energy spokesman Mr. Roger Hulley says: "Moss gas was not merely a bad investment, as stated by Deputy Minister of Finance Mr. Theo Alant, but was one of the very worst economic decisions of the P.W. Botha era."

"It was a disastrous, ill-conceived, non-viable siege decision which has left South Africa with a gold-plated white elephant. No government in a normal society, enjoying normal international relations would have dreamed of investing in such an uneconomic project."

The total cost of the project, originally estimated at about R5 billion, is now expected to rise to more than R12 billion—and experts estimate it will have to be subsidised to the tune of R1 billion a year to keep going.

Mr. Hulley told WEEKEND ARGUS he believed a committee of experts should be appointed to consider the case for mothballing the project.

"Every litre of fuel which Moss gas produces will have to be subsidised. I believe a case could still be made for mothballing the project until such time as the world crude oil price might rise sufficiently to make the project viable—although experts do not believe this is likely to happen until the next century."

Describing Moss gas as "a scandalous waste of money," Mr. Hulley said the huge sum of money could have been invested to generate more than 200,000 new jobs and to provide a massive boost for the economy. Moss gas would employ fewer than 2,000 individuals, many of whom were imported specialists.

Mr. Bernal Floor, a cost benefit analyst and transport economist, told WEEKEND ARGUS there could be hidden costs that would make the total cost of Moss gas even higher than some of the present estimates.

However, he believes it would be cheaper to continue with the project than to abandon it at this stage.

"It may be politically unthinkable to liquidate the project, but the government should, in the interest of the country, investigate the possible hidden costs that could make the project more expensive."

He suggests that alternative uses for Moss gas should be investigated. Attempts should be made to keep the project



going as economically as possible, bearing in mind that many employees and industries dependent on Moss gas would suffer if the project were to be closed down.

Moss gas managing director Mr. Bernard Smith has again defended its position, saying it would not be possible to close the project at this stage. This would mean that the capital invested so far would be lost: By continuing the project, at least part of that investment would be retrieved.

**\* Minister Defends Project**

92AF0022D Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS  
in English 7 Sep 91 p 7

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] Billions spent on the Moss gas will go down the drain—with over R[ands]2-billion in foreign loans immediately payable—if the giant fuel project were to be moth-balled now.

But the government, under fire from all quarters over the spiralling costs now estimated at R12-billion, claims it will make a profit.

Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Mr. George Bartlett defended Moss gas, saying it would not be an ongoing expense to taxpayers.

He was responding to questions from WEEKEND ARGUS.

Commenting on the statement this week by deputy Finance Minister Dr. Theo Alant that Moss gas was a bad investment, Mr. Bartlett said it was "not commissioned on the commercial viability of the venture." It was based on achieving fuel self-sufficiency to a certain extent.

In addition, it was seen as making a significant contribution to stimulating the engineering and construction industries and providing jobs. This was achieved.

Asked about estimates of a R1-billion subsidy a year to keep Moss gas running, he said the project would "generate a positive cash flow" after meeting operating and borrowing costs.

It was incorrect to say there would be an ongoing cost to the taxpayer. Most of the capital in Moss gas had already been invested. Stopping now would mean only a small saving.

Foreign borrowings in excess of R2-billion would become repayable immediately should it be terminated.

Bearing in mind his predictions of a positive cash flow, mothballing it now would "not make sense."

Latest estimates of total costs—an unofficial estimate put these at R12-billion—would be reported to the Cabinet "in the coming weeks." After this a statement would "probably" be issued.

**Mozambique****Police Arrest Opposition Members During March**

*MB1210075091 London BBC World Service in English  
0730 GMT 12 Oct 91*

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] Police in the Mozambican capital, Maputo, are reported to have arrested a number of opposition supporters taking part in a march. The march was called by the Patriotic Action Front to demand a speedy end to the civil war. Among those arrested were senior members of the Front and the leader of another opposition party, the Independent Congress of Mozambique, Mr. Vitor Fane.

The march is the first major public demonstration by the opposition movement since the introduction of the new multiparty constitution last November. The protest came a day after President Chissano returned from a conference in Malta where he was reportedly due to meet the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] leader, Mr. Afonso Dhlakama. The meeting did not take place and Mr. Chissano left one day earlier than expected.

**Marchers Released, To Appear in Court**

*MB1210122091 Maputo Radio Maputo in English  
1100 GMT 12 Oct 91*

[Text] Police in Mozambique arrested at least seven people in a group of demonstrators who were gathering at Independence Square in Maputo yesterday to hold a peace march. Among the seven detained was the chairman of the Independent Congress of Mozambique, Coimo, Vitor Marcos Fane. The seven were held for a few hours and then released. They must appear in court Monday [14 Oct] morning to face charges of holding an illegal demonstration.

The march for peace was called by the Patriotic Action Front and the Mozambican Agrarian Party. Less than 30 supporters turned up. Radio Mozambique's domestic service broadcast a message from Maputo City Mayor Joao Baptista Cosme stating that the march was illegal and urging the promoters to observe the law, which requires four days' advance notice for demonstration.

The head of propaganda for the Patriotic Action Front, Joao Indoga, said soon after his release that he had sent a letter to the Maputo City Police Command on 9 October advising them of the demonstration and had been awaiting their response. He said he and his friends were taken by surprise by the Maputo City Council statement in the late afternoon.

The organizers had planned to march from Independence Square to the Presidential Palace to demand an end to the war in Mozambique and a role for opposition parties in the peace negotiations.

**Commentary Views Arrest**

*MB1210112691 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 12 Oct 91*

[Commentary by Machado da Graça]

[Text] Learning democracy has not been easy for us. It has not been easy for the new parties that are emerging. It seems to be even less so for the authorities in power. When I say this, what I have in mind is the manner in which the attempted peace march organized by opposition parties was forbidden and repressed yesterday.

The Executive Council says that a legal provision whereby the civic authorities are supposed to be informed four days in advance was not fulfilled. It is possible that it is right. Even the promoters themselves have recognized that they warned the police too late. Thus, the legal requirements were not met. The new parties must start acting in accordance with the law if they want to do their political work within the correct framework. Let us, though, look at the other side of the coin.

I was at Independence Square and I witnessed the incidents. A few dozens of people, possibly not more than 50—mostly children—were standing on two of the square's central pavements. They were carrying a few posters and one flag. Time was passing and the number of people did not increase. It was beginning to look like the group might dissolve of its own accord, thereby clearly showing the parties' inability to mobilize people for an initiative of this kind.

Suddenly, everything changed: The police arrived, dispersed the group, and arrested seven demonstrators. What had been practically nothing, suddenly became international news. The news was that this was the first public demonstration called by the opposition in Mozambique and that it was repressed by the police with detentions and the eventual trial of some demonstrators.

One of my colleagues also came within an ace of detention because he had a few organizing party pamphlets in his hands. He escaped detention because he was identified by other journalists, but it must be said that to stand on the pavement with a political party's pamphlets—whatever the political party—is no crime.

We have much to learn about democracy. Above all, we must view these issues with good sense and with tolerance for others' ideas.

**Government, Renamo Peace Talks Resume in Rome****Dhlakama 'Optimistic'**

*MB1110193691 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 11 Oct 91*

[Text] The Mozambican peace talks resumed in the Italian capital, Rome, today. There was no plenary

session, contrary to what had been announced. Only separate meetings between the mediators and delegations from the Mozambican Government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] took place.

The meetings between the mediators and the two parties centered on the document of mutual political guarantees between the government and Renamo.

An EEC delegation also met with the mediators and the two warring parties. The EEC presented a statement calling on the Mozambican Government and Renamo to reach a peace agreement.

In Nairobi, Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama said he was optimistic over the success of the eighth round of peace talks in Rome.

#### Talks Said Postponed to 15 Oct

MB1210114091 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Contrary to what was expected, the eighth round of talks between the Mozambican Government and the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, did not resume in Rome yesterday. In a telephone interview with a source in the Santo Egidio Order, Radio Mozambique learned this morning that the resumption of the talks has been postponed to 15 October. The source explained that the postponement arose from the need for more contacts among the mediators, the Mozambican Government, and Renamo.

#### Dhlakama on Current Talks

MB1210193891 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], said today that the possible signing of Mozambique peace accords will not be in Rome, but in another European capital.

It will be noted that the eighth round of peace talks between Renamo and Mozambican Government representatives is under way in the Italian capital, Rome.

This round of peace talks resumed yesterday after it was suspended last Tuesday [8 October].

In Rome, both Renamo and government representatives have already announced that they will do all they can to sign a peace agreement in this round of peace talks.

#### Further Dhlakama Remarks

MB1410200991 London BBC World Service in English  
1830 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Interview with Afonso Dhlakama, president of the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, by Fano Josiah in Nairobi, on the "Focus on Africa" program; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Peace talks resumed again in Rome today between Mozambique's rebel movement, Renamo, and representatives of the Mozambican Government. The talking started one and half years ago and although hopes are still high that a peaceful solution will be found to 16 years of civil war, the talks have collapsed seven times, with the rebel movement still reluctant to sign a cease-fire.

On the line to Nairobi, Fano Josiah asked Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama why his organization hasn't yet signed a cease-fire.

[Begin recording] [Dhlakama] Well, you understand, cease-fire is not a solution for civilian war in Mozambique. (If we) sign a cease-fire, is the way to resolve all problems.

[Josiah] At what point must a cease-fire be signed, according to you?

[Dhlakama] Well, I believe that we have agenda. We have agenda. We have agenda that No. 1 is the party law. We must agree about party law: how parties in Mozambique can cleared, can register. After, we must discuss about the electoral law, how we can go to campaign, how parties can have their freedom to campaign, to election; and which countries or United Nations that can come to supervise election. Also, we will be to discuss about military issue: how we can form one army, because in a system multiparty, no one party that can get his army. We must have one army for Mozambique.

[Josiah] If you are committed to peace, President Chissano says he is committed to peace. So, when are the two of you going to meet now?

[Dhlakama] Well, I don't know, I don't know. From my side, I was prepare any time, if my brother, President Chissano, could create condition, because I think that he has problem to see myself. But myself, I am not have any problem. I think that any time, I can meet him, because this meeting, I consider that it is very very very important for us, like leaders and presidents, because we can (?construct) confidence between brothers and we can give understand Mozambicans that surely we are not enemy. Yes, we have different ideology, but we are not enemy to trying to kill one each other. Well, I can repeat: this will depending from President Chissano but any time that he can give me indication, I can meet him. [end recording]

#### Talks Resume 15 Oct

MB1510175491 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Armando Guebuza, head of the Mozambican Government team to the Rome peace talks, and Raul Domingos, his Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, counterpart met in the Italian capital today within the framework of efforts aimed at achieving peace in Mozambique.

Radio Mozambique had a telephone interview with a source in the Santo Egidio Order this afternoon, but the nature of the meeting between Armando Guebuza and Raul Domingos was not disclosed. The source said, however, that the meeting between the delegation chiefs was useful in that it helped the two sides understand their differences.

The second plenary session [as heard] between the Mozambican Government and Renamo was expected to be held today. That source revealed, however, that it will probably only be held tomorrow.

### 'Greater' U.S. Role Noted

MB1610061791 London BBC World Service in English  
0530 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] The leader of Mozambique's Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels, Mr. Afonso Dhlakama, has said his new order to his forces to stop military action along the Limpopo River is intended to show his organization's support for the peace talks now going on in Rome. In a BBC interview from Nairobi, Mr. Dhlakama said he believed the talks had a much better chance of success than the seven previous rounds of negotiations. This was because of the greater involvement by the Americans, which, he said, would reinforce the mediation by Italy, and the Roman Catholic Church.

He confirmed that arrangements were being made for him to meet the American assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Mr. Herman Cohen.

### Renamo Halts Military Activity Along Limpopo

MB1510100591 London BBC World Service in English  
0530 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] The leader of Mozambique's Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels has said he has ordered his forces to halt all military activity along the Limpopo river. The area contains an important railway linking Zimbabwe with the Mozambique capital, Maputo. Last December, Renamo undertook to stop all military activity along the Limpopo and another corridor to the sea further north as part of a partial cease-fire agreement with the government, but there have been repeated Renamo attacks on the railways.

Speaking on Kenyan television, Mr. Dhlakama said his new order was designed to facilitate the implementation of the December accord.

## Namibia

### Charges of Nujoma Role in Police Matters Denied

MB0910202291 Windhoek Namibian Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1900 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] The Office of the President has expressed concern over the creation of the impression that the president acted arbitrarily and intervened in police and defense

matters at will. In a statement issued in Windhoek, the office rejected allegations in a newspaper report that President Nujoma had summoned Home Affairs Minister Hifikepunye Pohamba and Secretary General (Dick Fushen) to State House last Saturday.

According to the report in the WINDHOEK ADVERTISER, the president informed them that a UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] convoy [words indistinct] had to be released conditionally. The Office of the President stated that the two officials had not been summoned to State House as was reported.

## Swaziland

### Prime Minister Announces Cabinet Reshuffle

MB1210175491 Mbabane Swazi Television in English  
1710 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] In a government shake-up this afternoon, His Majesty King Mswati III has announced the creation of new government ministries. This is a follow-up to His Majesty's speech from the throne during the opening of Parliament this year, where His Majesty indicated that the creation of new government ministries was being considered.

The major government reshuffle and the creation of new ministries was announced by his excellency the prime minister at the Cabinet Offices this afternoon:

[Begin Prime Minister Obed Dlamini recording] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. You will no doubt recall that in his speech from the throne during the opening of Parliament early this year, his majesty the king indicated that the creation of new government ministries was being considered. Today, I am pleased to announce that this exercise has now been completed and that in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by Section 70 Subsection 2 of the Establishment of the Parliament of Swaziland Order Number 23 of 1978, his majesty has been graciously pleased to establish the following additional government ministries as from Monday, 14 October 1991.

- A: The Ministry of Broadcasting, Information, and Tourism.
- B: The Ministry of Economic Planning and Development.
- C: The Ministry of Housing and Township Development.
- D: The Ministry of Transport and Communication.
- E: The Ministry of Works and Construction.

His Majesty has also appointed the following persons to be the ministers of the crown with effect from Monday, 14 October 1991, in respect of the ministries shown against their names, and the complete list of cabinet ministers and their portfolios are now as given here under:



1. Themba M. Masuku, minister for agriculture and cooperatives.
2. Barnabas Mhlongo, minister for broadcasting, information, and tourism.
3. Douglas Nkomeni Ntiwane, minister for commerce and industry.
4. Solomon Dlamini, minister for economic planning and development.
5. Prince Khuzulwandle, minister for education.
6. Sibusiso Barnabas Dlamini, minister for finance.
7. George Mbikwakhe Mamba, minister for foreign affairs.
8. Dr. Fanny Friedman, minister for health.
9. Thomas Stevens, minister for housing and township development.
10. Prince Sobandla, minister for interior and immigration.
11. Dr. Zonke Amos Khumalo, minister for justice.
12. David Motsa, minister for labor and public service.
13. Ernest Richard Senzenjani Shabalala, minister for natural resources, land utilization, and energy.
14. Albert Nhlanhla Shabangu, minister for transport and communication.
15. Jameson Mbilini Dlamini, minister for works and construction.

Finally let me avail myself of this opportunity to extend my personal congratulations to the newly appointed ministers and to wish them every success and God's guidance in discharging the new responsibilities that the king and the Swazi nation has placed upon them. I would also like to thank all the outgoing ministers for their loyal and dedicated service to their king and country throughout their time of office as cabinet ministers in this government. I shall also value the support and cooperation they have given me in the task of running this government. Thank you. [end recording]

#### **Central Committee Goals Same as Former Council**

MB1010073191 Mhabane THE TIMES OF  
SWAZILAND in English 10 Oct 91 pp 1, 24

[Report by Nimrod Mabuza: "Central Committee is 'Liqoqo' [Supreme Council of State]]]

[Text], Nkwene community member. Mathendele Dlamini yesterday charged that the powerful Central Committee and the erstwhile Liqoqo [Supreme Council of State] are only divided in name but they are one.

He said irrespective of the two names, the objectives of the two groups are not different.

Dlamini said the name 'Central Committee' should be dropped and a suitable Swazi name should be found for the committee.

He recommended that the committee should be called 'Liqoqo' which is a legal body in terms of the laws of the

country. He said he suspects that people detest the name Central Committee. Dlamini said the name is associated with communist states.

He said previously people were complaining about the Liqoqo and now they are complaining about the Central Committee. He said people want the King to be left alone and asked why.

Dlamini lashed at the people in high positions who claim to hate the Tinkhundla [traditional community councils] system.

He said it is the same people who are benefitting financially from the system.

"How many of those people have resigned because they do not know how they were appointed and do not like or understand the system. It is ridiculous of them to be eating on the other hand and on the other they are complaining," he said.

"One wonders and pauses to ask the question: Which is bigger, the truth or money?" he asked.

Speaking at the inkhundla [traditional community council] of Nkwene yesterday, Dlamini said the people who are complaining about the system yet they are in high positions want to discourage others so that they can be returned to power next year.

"I say the people must be educated about the system and it must be examined from time to time. Which of you after giving birth to a handicapped child destroys him?" he asked.

Dlamini said tinkhundla are for Swazis and they must improve them when necessary.

To the Tinkhundla Committee, Dlamini said: "Tell the King that he must watch out for a person who suggests you kill your dog because it makes noise while he is asleep."

#### **Zambia**

#### **Reportage on Continuing Election Maneuvers**

##### **Mandela Chided for Supporting Kaunda**

MB1010075891 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0103 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] Lusaka Oct 9 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela has been advised to refrain commenting on Zambia's internal political affairs.

A leading member of Zambia's opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy [MMD], Mr Vernon Mwaanga, was quoted by Zambia's independent DAILY EXPRESS newspaper on Wednesday as having made the appeal at a political campaign on Tuesday.

Mr Mwaanga was quoted by the newspaper as saying his party was surprised at Mr Mandela's recent remarks at Kasaba Bay.

When Mr Mandela last visited President Kenneth Kaunda at Kasaba Bay he was "openly quoted" as telling his host that he would support him (Kaunda) and the ruling United National Independence Party during the forthcoming elections, reports a SAPA correspondent.

Mr Mandela's statement was untimely, unnecessary and uncalled for because it amounted to interfering with Zambia's internal political affairs, Mr Mwaanga said.

However, he added the MMD would continue "respecting him even after the October elections because he is a symbol of resistance".

Mr Mwaanga said he hoped Mr Mandela would next time be rightly advised to keep out of Zambia's internal matters.

#### **Electoral Body Said Not Impartial**

*MB1010195291 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 10 Oct 91*

[Text] A lawyer and opposition member claimed today that the Electoral Commission chaired by Deputy Chief Justice Mercy Ngulube could not be impartial in its operations because it was administered by Prime Minister General Malimba Masheke who was a UNIP [United National Independence Party] leader.

The vice chairman of the International Bar Association on Human Rights, Dr. Roger Chongwe, said this was why the electoral commission and the UNIP leadership insisted on a central counting of votes and refused to allow people to use national registration cards to vote.

Speaking when he addressed the press at the Ridgeway Hotel, Dr. Chongwe charged that the Electoral Commission was set up to serve the one-party state and the regulations and the statute under which it operated still reflected attitudes of a one-party rule.

He said there were only two commissioners, none representing any of the opposition parties, instead of three, while President Kaunda had regular access to the commission which the opposition did not have.

#### **MMD Candidate, Wife Roughed Up**

*MB1110185291 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 11 Oct 91*

[Text] A parliamentary candidate for the Movement for Multiparty Democracy [MMD], Dr. Roger Chongwe, and his wife, Glenda, were roughed up in an interparty clash in Lusaka's Chaisa Market.

Dr. Chongwe was to be introduced as parliamentary candidate for Mandevu Constituency when a mob converged on him, his wife, and the MMD delegation inside Chaisa market today when the clash took place.

Dr. Chongwe told ZNBC [Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation] news after giving a statement at Lusaka Central Police Station that today's incident shows that UNIP is unwilling to accept plural politics.

His wife, Mrs. Glenda Chongwe, said the mood at the market was calm until a group descended on them.

#### **Official on Civil Service, Campaign**

*MB1110195791 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 11 Oct 91*

[Text] The secretary to the Cabinet, Mr. Sketchley Sachika, has warned the ruling UNIP [United National Independence Party] and MMD [Movement for Multiparty Democracy] not to destroy the viability of the civil service by involving it into camps. [Words indistinct] in which he said UNIP and MMD (?were turning) civil service into another political campaign issue.

Mr. Sachika who was reacting to a statement by acting secretary general of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, Mr. Alex Chirwa, who accused the government of slowing the delinking of the party from government, said destroying the civil service cannot be in the interest of the people of Zambia.

He explained that public services in a multiparty system all over the world do impose restrictions on the political conduct of public servants to ensure that they serve the government of the day as faithfully as possible.

#### **Kaunda Expecting 'Massive Victory'**

*MB1110183091 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 11 Oct 91*

[Text] President Kaunda has said UNIP [United National Independence Party] is looking for a massive victory in the coming presidential and general elections, saying the Movement for Multiparty Democracy [MMD] will never rise after 31 October.

Speaking at a UNIP campaign meeting in Chongwe today, President Kaunda said the insults and lies that were being (?spattered) by the MMD will end after elections as the law will take its course.

Calling on UNIP supporters not to retaliate when insulted, Dr. Kaunda said no country or leader anywhere in the world can allow to be insulted forever, adding that MMD should never be heard of after 31 October.

#### **Warnings on Inflammatory Statements**

*MB1410105891 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0953 GMT 14 Oct 91*

[Text] Lusaka Oct 14 SAPA—Police in Zambia have warned political party leaders, among them President Kenneth Kaunda, to refrain from making inflammatory statements in the campaign for forthcoming general elections. Police public relations officer Batholomew Jere issued the warning in Lusaka at the weekend, and

said alarming utterances from both the president and opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) leader Frederick Chiluba had become common.

Speaking on television, Mr Jere deplored the manner in which both ruling party and MMD parliamentary candidates were trading "alarming statements to woo the electorate. "I am advising both parties to make responsible statements and not alarming and inflammatory statements threatening peace and security," Mr Jere said.

He attributed a recent spate of politically-motivated violence in the country to some of the statements made by both President Kaunda and Mr Chiluba at country-wide election campaign rallies. President Kaunda reportedly told a public meeting: "...There will be civil unrest...if I and the United National Independence Party (UNIP) lose the October elections". He has also reportedly said if voters supported the MMD, "you will be courting chaos and violence".

Mr Chiluba last Saturday [12 October] claimed the Zambian Government was ferrying arms to unnamed neighbouring countries, in order to unleash armed attacks if UNIP lost the elections. He alleged he had the registration numbers of trucks that had been carrying the arms.

In response, President Kaunda countered: "It is a blue lie. They want me to order their arrest so...they can cause chaos in the country".

—A Zambian lawyer and MMD parliamentary candidate, Roger Chongwe, was badly beaten up together with his wife, Gwenda, allegedly by UNIP vigilantes. UNIP ward officials have since been arrested in connection with the assault, reports a SAPA correspondent.

#### **MMD President on Election Campaign**

*MB1410211691 London BBC World Service in English  
1830 GMT 14 Oct 91*

[Report on interview with Frederick Chiluba, president of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, by Mike Hall on the "Focus on Africa" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] With about two weeks to go before Zambia's elections campaigning is beginning to hot up as candidates tour the country in search for votes. The opposition MMD [Movement for Multiparty Democracy] Party, led by Frederick Chiluba, has been doing the rounds in Eastern Province which is a stronghold of the ruling UNIP [United National Independence Party] party led by Kenneth Kaunda. Mike Hall has been on the campaign trail with Frederick Chiluba. Here is his report:

[Begin recording] [Hall] Women singing the praises of the MMD greeted Mr. Chiluba at scores of rallies throughout the rural areas of Eastern Zambia. Despite

many reports of intimidation, MMD leaders were pleasantly surprised by the level of support they found.

Eastern Province has on the whole been slow to respond to calls for change. Many are suspicious of the MMD and their reluctance to support the party stems partly from the conspicuous lack in the leadership of well-known political figures from the east.

Intimidation has been higher than in other parts of the country. I asked Mr. Chiluba whether he felt that this could affect the election results.

[Chiluba] At one time I thought it was but now I believe that people are weathering the storm and they will go over it and vote according to the dictates of their conscience. It has been quite serious, some houses have been burned and some (?grain) has been burned as well, destroyed, and some people have been physically beaten up. So it is not a small matter at all, it has been quite serious. But I think people are standing up and this has been a commendable fight.

Unlike all other provinces, the Eastern Province people have really stood up to challenge the dictatorship and they deserve commendation.

[Hall] Nevertheless, the MMD is not expecting to win more than five or six of the 19 parliamentary seats in the province. Mr. Chiluba's campaign has many of the trappings of a presidential tour. The helicopter and hordes of armed security men available to President Kaunda are absent but the MMD leader has his own team of body guards.

On two occasions, near the Mozambique and Malawi borders, they advised rallies be canceled because of the possible threat to his security from Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels and the Malawian authorities. Mr. Chiluba travels in a shiny four wheel drive Mitsubishi with a convoy of other vehicles carrying a generator, amplifiers, and loud speakers and a host of other supplies, together with gifts of live goats, pigeons, and crops he receives on the way.

Despite the heat and the exhausting schedule, the MMD leader is always immaculately turned out in a double breasted suit and his campaigners and supporters quick to show their difference, already call him your excellency. [end recording]

#### **MMD: Time for Kaunda To Rest**

*MB1510082291 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0757 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Text] Lusaka Oct 15 SAPA—Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda will still be accorded due respect if he loses the country's general election on condition that his conduct does not betray his internationally renowned name, Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) President Frederick Chiluba said in Lusaka on Monday.



Mr Chiluba said his party acknowledged the campaign against colonialism in the 1960s led by President Kaunda.

He would be given the respect befitting the founding president of the Republic of Zambia, the MMD official told a rally in Lusaka's Mtendere township. Mr Chiluba added while he had respect for President Kaunda, the time had come for him (Kaunda) to take a deserved rest.

An MMD government would not victimise UNIP [United National Independence Party] leaders as long as they accepted living in harmony with the government of the day.

On the economy, he said it was not beyond redemption, but it would require concerted efforts to repair the damage.

The MMD president challenged Zambians to study his party's manifesto so that when an MMD government failed to deliver the goods, the public should query and possibly remove it from power. "It is the people's choice," he added.

#### **Masheke Urges Voter Preparation**

*MB1510190891 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Text] Prime Minister Malimba Masheke has asked UNIP [United National Independence Party] leaders at all levels of the party's hierarchy to immediately start conducting mock ballot voting for their members so that 31 October voting can be done properly.

Addressing a rally in Chirundu this morning, General Masheke also appealed to UNIP supporters who cannot read and write to select those that can help them vote for candidates of their choice.

He warned the concerned voters not to select people who will not vote according to the instructions, otherwise they are wasting their votes. He urged UNIP supporters who have lost their voters' cards to immediately get certificates of authority so that they can [words indistinct] in the October elections.

#### **Nordic Countries Donate Funds To Monitor Election**

*MB0910191891 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[Text] Three Scandinavian countries today gave the Zambia Independent Monitoring Team, ZIMT, about 10 million kwacha to be used for monitoring this month's elections.

Speaking at the signing of the agreement of Swedish, Denmark, and Norway contributions to ZIMT in Lusaka today, Swedish Ambassador Mr. Thor Thassen said, as donor, they would not like to be seen as taking sides in the elections.

Mr. Thassen, who was speaking on behalf of Mr. Mark Jessen, charge d'affaires of Denmark, and Mr. (?Aomag), resident representative for Norway, said they viewed ZIMT as an independent and now partisan organization which prompted their support.

Mr. Thassen hoped that intimidation and mud slinging on the part of some national monitoring groups will cease, adding that it will be more productive to cooperate and work together for a common goal.

#### **Journalists Win Injunction Against Media Bosses**

*MB0810192491 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[From the "Focus on Africa" Program]

[Text] Journalists in Zambia have won a rather unusual battle for press freedom. The High Court has granted an injunction to the Zambia Press Association against the editor of the state-run TIMES OF ZAMBIA and the director general of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation [ZNBC]. The injunction bars the two media bosses who were appointed by President Kaunda from working until after the forthcoming elections. The press association said the two men were biased in favor of the ruling party. From Lusaka, Mike Hall reports:

[Begin Hall recording] Journalists at both the TIMES and ZNBC were excited at the court's decision and pleased that at long last they have been able to assert their will. There have been persistent accusations of bias in the coverage of the election campaign by the state-run media, especially television and radio.

The most vocal critic has been the main opposition party, the MMD [Movement for Multiparty Democracy], which in the last few weeks has also been joined by foreign election observers. Former American President Jimmy Carter spoke of excessive censorship.

There is no doubt that the opposition has been unfairly treated by ZNBC. President Kaunda, for example, is accompanied by a TV crew wherever he goes and he is given far more air time everyday than the MMD president, Mr. Chiluba, who only appears occasionally.

The press association has been sharpening its political teeth in recent months, after years of dormancy. They claim that censorship practiced by Mr. Bwendo Mulengela of the TIMES and Mr. Stephen Moyo of ZNBC amounted to a breach of freedom of expression under the Constitution. Richard Sakala, chairman of the press association, said the two men deliberately killed stories on the opposition and gave prominence to the ruling party, UNIP [United National Independence Party], and its officials.

Mr. Mulengela of the TIMES described by the MMD as a confirmed puppet, has said he intends to appeal against the injunction, but for the moment he was not going to



work. If I went to work, he said, that would be contempt of court and they would lock me up, which is what they want to do. [end recording]

### Newspaper Editor on Injunction

*MB1010121691 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[Interview with Bwendo Mulengela, managing editor of TIMES OF ZAMBIA by BBC correspondent Bernabe Phillips in Lusaka; on the "Focus on Africa" program; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Two of Zambia's most senior journalists will be kicking their heels over the next few weeks, unable to cover the country's biggest story for years.

A high court in Lusaka yesterday granted the Press Association of Zambia an injunction restraining the director general of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation, Steven Moyo, and the managing editor of the ZAMBIA TIMES, Bwendo Mulengela, from operating until after the 31 October elections.

The press association maintains that the two were biased against the opposition in the election campaign coverage. On the line to Lusaka, Bernabe Phillips asked Mr. Mulengela whether he intended to abide by the injunction:

[Mulengela] Yes and no. Yes, in the sense that because it is the only ruling on this matter from the court. I have decided not to operate from my office and as you might be interested to know, you are speaking to me from my home. I am speaking to you rather from my home. But we have decided to ask for justice in that we should also be heard, I should also be heard. So, we have given the matter to lawyers to see if a counter injunction could be given and a date is given immediately for judgment to be passed on this. No, in the sense that we are fighting back legally.

[Phillips] A date before the general election, you are hoping for?

[Mulengela] Yes.

[Phillips] Do you accept the criticisms which have been labelled toward you? You were described in court as deliberately having spiked stories, particularly those pertaining to the elections, no matter how objective they were? And you have been described by the opposition as a confirmed puppet, is that fair?

[Mulengela] No, of course, because.... [changes thought] Well, first of all, I must be certain whether I should comment on matters that are in court, at all. But maybe, just for purposes of mentioning something that might be useful to you and to our listeners throughout the world, what amazes most people is that there is nothing being said about what I would like to be allowed to call blatant coverage of the opposition, the affirmative. I mean, that is, you know, in terms of support by the WEEKLY

POST, the SUNDAY EXPRESS, and the DAILY EXPRESS. Nothing is being said about this. It looks like these newspapers do not exist at all or they are extremely insignificant. But what I know, you know, recently is that these newspapers are spelling [as heard] considerably.

Well again, I am not too sure whether one can ... [changes thought] what does one call these chaps, you know, heading these newspapers? That is the first point. The second point is that when one picks TIMES OF ZAMBIA and SUNDAY TIMES, and Mr. Jimmy Carter of the USA will bear me out in this, he himself came and scrutinized the situation of the newspaper industry here and he confirmed that our coverage in TIMES OF ZAMBIA and SUNDAY TIMES was fairly balanced, because we do not only have positive stories about the ruling party, we also have positive stories about the opposition parties. [end recording]

### Official Urges Journalists To Report Objectively

*MB1210190091 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 12 Oct 91*

[Text] Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services Permanent Secretary Mrs. Brigitte Mwanakaoma has urged journalists to desist from partisan affiliations to parties and report objectively to avoid influencing the results of the presidential and general elections.

Addressing Zambia Information Services, the ZAMBIAN NEWS AGENCY, and ZNBC [Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation] staff in Kasama today, Mrs. Mwanakaoma said the success of elections on 31 October depended much on what the media will achieve in informing and educating the public, especially the voters on their responsibilities.

He urged them to be impartial and nonaligned in their endeavor to impart knowledge to the public about how, when, and where to vote.

### Kaunda's Son Sentenced to Death for Murder

*MB1410113491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1125 GMT 14 Oct 91*

[Text] Lusaka Oct 14 SAPA—Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's son, Kambarage, 27, was on Monday [14 October] convicted and sentenced to death for murder by the Lusaka High Court. Mr Justice Cleaver Musumali described the manner in which Kambarage, a commercial pilot and the fourth born son of President Kaunda, shot dead 20-year-old Tabettha Mwanza as callous and primitive.

The judge said the prosecution had proved beyond reasonable doubt Kambarage had killed a defenceless young woman in cold blood, reports a SAPA correspondent.

President Kaunda's wife, who was among the hundreds of people who had packed the court, sobbed in disbelief as the judge pronounced the death sentence. Defence

attorneys Richard Ngenda and Sebastian Zulu indicated they would appeal to the Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, President Kaunda leaves for Harare on Monday afternoon to attend the Commonwealth Summit.

### Journalist Views Sentence

*MB1410173091 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 14 Oct 91*

[Excerpts] In Zambia, a long-running court case has finally reached a dramatic conclusion. The High Court in Lusaka had been trying President Kenneth Kaunda's youngest son, Kambarage Kaunda, for the murder of a young woman just over two years ago.

Now, Kambarage Kaunda has been found guilty and sentenced to death. On the line to Lusaka, John Mokhele asked journalist Chola Chimbane what the atmosphere had been like in court:

[Begin recording] [Chimbane] Well, the court was very packed with interested members of the public who were there from as early as about 0730 [0530 GMT] and the hearing only started at about a quarter to 1000. [passage omitted]

[Mokhele] What was said in defense of Kambarage Kaunda this morning?

[Chimbane] Well, nothing was said in his defense this morning. The only thing that had been put forward by Kambarage's counsel in making its submissions at the end of the trial was that the trial judge had been biased and that the whole trial was unfairly handled.

[Mokhele] What did Kambarage Kaunda do when the sentence was passed? What was his reaction?

[Chimbane] Well, Kambarage just smiled and raised up his right arm showing a V sign which is an election campaign symbol for UNIP [United National Independence Party].

[Mokhele] Now, are they going to appeal?

[Chimbane] Kambarage's lawyers say they were going to appeal immediately. [end recording]

### Zimbabwe

#### Ethiopia's Exiled Mengistu Seeks Foreign Funds

*MB0710175891 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 7 Oct 91*

[Telephone interview with correspondent Jan Ross in Harare by Ruth Forby on the "Focus on Africa" program; date not given—recorded]

[Text] When he fled Ethiopia, Mengistu finally ended up in Zimbabwe. He had given a good deal of support to Robert Mugabe during his war of liberation. But far from being greeted as a hero, Mengistu has kept his head down and almost vanished out of site in a suburb of the capital, Harare. But now, he is starting to emerge from the shadows as Jan Ross explained on the line from Harare to Ruth Forby.

[Begin recording] [Ross] Nothing really firsthand, because you can't get near his residence. There are two roadblocks at either end of the street where he lives. Then, you can't get near the place. But the evidence comes from various diplomats in the community here who have received telephone calls from him or from his secretary.

[Forby] What have these telephone calls been about?

[Ross] I gather he has been asking for an interview with members of the diplomatic community with a view to making a request for finance, as well as hoping to be able to—as I understand, he terms it—correct the image that [words indistinct].

[Forby] You say he has been round to embassies. Has anybody given him any money yet, as far as you know?

[Ross] No. To my knowledge, the response has been that, before they even see him, they will prefer to be in touch with the home government just to ask advice how they should treat the matter.

[Forby] And do you know which embassies they were?

[Ross] There was at least one Western embassy and a variety of African embassies. I have been specifically asked not to name them.

[Forby] Does he look as though he is in reduced circumstances? What is this place he is staying in like?

[Ross] It is a government villa. They were built in around about 1986 in preparation for the nonaligned summit. They are fairly substantial buildings, big properties. It is in a suburb where most of the people are millionaires or just (?above) millionaires. I don't know what the details are about paying rental because it is owned by the government.

[Forby] Some people in Ethiopia might be a bit surprised that he is looking for money. The speculation is that he must have been able to make some sort of money while he was in power?

[Ross] Yes, that comes as rather a surprise to a lot of people. Everyone I have spoken to said why should he possibly be asking for money, bearing in mind, of course, that when he arrived it wasn't as if he just flew in [words indistinct]. He came in on a chartered jumbo. [end recording]

## The Gambia

### Policeman, Foreign Nationals Arrested for 'Spying'

AB1210091391 Paris AFP in French 1917 GMT  
9 Oct 91

[Text] Banjul, 9 Oct (AFP)—Ousman Tamba was arrested last weekend at Bassa (400 km from Banjul) for spying for Koko-Samba Sanyang, the leader of the 1981 coup attempt, Dawda Jawara said today during a news conference.

According to informed sources, the Gambian policeman was arrested along with 15 Malian, Sierra Leonean, and Liberian nationals suspected of being agents of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). A letter sent to Koko-Samba Sanyang, who is reportedly fighting with Charles Taylor's troops in Liberia, was found on Sergeant Tamba, according to the same sources.

## Liberia

### 'Refugee Soldiers' Penetrate Into Cape Mount

AB1510183591 Paris AFP in English 1810 GMT  
15 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Freetown, Oct 15 (AFP)—Refugee soldiers on Tuesday penetrated some 80 kilometers (50 miles) into Liberia's western Cape Mount County against strong resistance from Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front (NPFL), a spokesman for the exiled group said. The spokesman, who asked not to be identified, said that as many as 2,000 members of his United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO) were Tuesday moving to the Lofa Bridge in Bomi County some 32 kilometers (20 miles) from the capital Monrovia.

He said that NPFL forces were setting up heavy artillery in the area to halt the militia's advance, adding it was "a fruitless venture." The National Patriotic Front of Liberia controls most of the country.

"ULIMO members in Freetown are in daily contact with their field commander, and the showdown is about to start," he said. The spokesman said ULIMO, which comprises many soldiers from the late president Samuel Doe's army, is based in the United States and directs groups in Sierra Leone and Guinea, Liberia's neighbors to the west and north.

The Sierra Leone defense ministry has not issued a statement on the latest clashes, but a ministry official told AFP here Tuesday that the fighting "is purely an internal matter for Liberians themselves to sort out." [passage omitted]

### IGNU, NPFL Meeting Postponed Until 17 Oct

AB1210143391 Paris AFP in English 1349 GMT  
12 Oct 91

[Text] Monrovia, Oct 12 (AFP)—A meeting between representatives of the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) and the rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) expected to begin Friday [11 October] has been postponed, an official said. The representatives will now meet next Thursday [17 October] in Suakoko, Bong County, to conclude "consultative talks" on who should head an interim elections commission (ECOM) and ad-hoc Supreme Court.

IGNU Justice Minister Philip Banks told reporters late Friday that the meeting had been postponed at the request of Charles Taylor's NPFL. Banks quoted NPFL spokesman as saying representatives taking part in the meeting on the side of Taylor were presently travelling abroad. The two sides formed the ECOM and the ad-hoc court in Gbarnga, the NPFL stronghold, two weeks ago to help supervise general elections next year.

### Johnson Hands Over Youths to Justice Ministry

AB1110211091 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Seven teenagers said to be members of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia [INPFL] have been turned over to the Justice Ministry by the leader of the front, Mr. Prince Johnson, for alleged armed robbery. The seven, aged between 15 and 18 years, [words indistinct] [names indistinct] (Jeffery Fenny,) and (Shadow Brown).

Turning the youths over to the justice minister's office yesterday, Prince Johnson said he took the decision in keeping with his promise not to execute commandos as well as civilians found guilty of committing offenses, on a (?social) basis. A Ministry of Justice official told the LIBERIAN NEWS AGENCY, LINA, that the accused will be turned over to the National Police Headquarters for further investigation.

## Nigeria

### 'Sporadic' Violence Reported in Kano 15 Oct

AB1510123091 Paris AFP in French 1147 GMT  
15 Oct 91

[Text] Lagos, 15 Oct (AFP)—Sporadic outbursts of violence were again reported in Kano, northern Nigeria, this morning and clashes occurred throughout the night despite the curfew according to eyewitnesses contacted by telephone from Lagos. Riots between Muslims and Christians broke out yesterday, and are said to have resulted in the death of about 100 people, according to a source close to the police.

Small groups of Muslim and Christian demonstrators resumed street rampages, starting fires as they went



along. Groups of Christians armed with shotguns set two mosques on fire during the night in retaliation for the burning of churches by Muslim rioters yesterday, according to the witnesses. The law enforcement agencies apparently contented themselves with keeping the two camps at bay, according to the witnesses.

### **8 Killed; Army Troops Deployed**

*AB1510175591*

[Editorial Report] Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English at 1700 GMT on 15 October in its "News Headlines" announces that "the Kano State Government says the Army will be made to restore law and order in the event of further disturbances that should be in Kano."

At 1710 GMT the station reports: "It is now confirmed that eight people were killed while 34 [were] injured in yesterday's riots in Kano. Addressing a news conference today, Governor Idris Garba said 71 people who were engaged in looting property and using petrol to set public buildings ablaze have been arrested. The governor said that eight houses, 10 shops, and four hotels have been damaged, while 15 vehicles were burned."

Paris AFP in French at 1730 GMT on 15 October in a Lagos datelined item reports: "On Tuesday afternoon the Nigerian Army took its position in the streets of Kano, where calm seems to have returned shortly before the start of the cease-fire set for 1800 local time, according to eyewitnesses contacted by phone in Lagos."

### **Religious Clashes, Massacres Continue**

*AB1610103691 Paris AFP in French 0938 GMT  
16 Oct 91*

[Text] Lagos, 16 Oct (AFP)—Fresh massacres were carried out last night in Kano, northern Nigeria, in spite of the curfew, according to witnesses contacted by telephone from Lagos. According to these witnesses, the Nigerian Federal Army strengthened its control over the city this morning, following the proliferation of the scenes of violence during the night in what a moderate Muslim referred to as a veritable "hunt for Christians," and which has claimed the lives of many people who were quickly buried or burned, according to these same sources.

The initial death toll of about 100, according to a source close to the police, should have been largely exceeded by now. A national daily, the NIGERIAN TRIBUNE, has already reported 300 dead on its front page this morning.

### **Further on Kano Situation**

*AB1610094091 London BBC World Service in English  
1830 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] For most of the day, it has been impossible to make contact with the northern Nigerian city of Kano in the wake of yesterday's riots. Several people died in the

religiously motivated violence. The trouble began when Muslims demonstrated against the visit by a German Christian evangelical preacher, the Reverend Reinhard Bonnke. A few minutes ago, our reporter Ado Salah Okinkia reached us by telephone on a very poor line, so here is a report of what he told us.

[Begin studio announcer recording] Today's riots have been even worse than yesterday's, with hooligan youths rampaging and setting fire to shops and houses. It is difficult to ascribe religious motives to the youths now because even though the rioting was undoubtedly sparked off yesterday by the protests against the visit of the Rev. Reinhard Bonnke it has now degenerated into unabashed looting and vandalism.

The governor of the state announced on the radio this evening that eight people have died, 34 were injured, 34 houses had been burned, eight damaged, and one church and one mosque in the Sabon Gari area have also been burned down. The governor said that so far 70 people have been arrested. Many of them were caught looting property and setting fire to buildings with petrol. All day the police have had their hands full because each time they appeared to get one area of the city under control, the youths showed up in another area, starting new fires.

The hours of the curfew have been extended and now go from 6.00 PM [1700 GMT] to 6.00 AM [0500 GMT]. This has given some breathing space to the police who are now out in strength on the streets. All day not only has it been impossible for anyone to go to their offices for work, even the famous Kano market has been unable to operate.

The preacher, the Reverend Bonnke, whose planned visit was the spark for the riots, has not even shown up in the city. [end recording]

### **Airport Closed 16 Oct**

*AB1610132591 Paris AFP in English 1126 GMT  
16 Oct 91*

[By Gerard Vandenberghe]

[Excerpts] Lagos, Oct 16 (AFP)—The Nigerian Army strengthened its control of Kano Wednesday after a night of further inter-communal blood-letting in the northern town despite a curfew, witnesses reached by telephone said. [passage omitted]

The Army, which was deployed in the streets of Kano Tuesday afternoon as the curfew hour approached, on Wednesday morning called on all inhabitants setting out for work to go back home.

The troops have sealed off the Sabon Gari quarter of Kano, stronghold of Christians of the Ibo ethnic group, who were a prime target for the Muslim rioters during Monday [14 October].

The Army went into action during Tuesday night in the northern Dakata quarter of Kano. Heavy gunfire could



be heard moving from there toward the sealed off quarter of Sabon Gari, witnesses said.

The airport, which reopened for traffic Tuesday, has meanwhile been closed again.

Only a very few businesses opened Wednesday, while according to the witnesses, between 10,000 and 20,000 people have gathered in front of police headquarters asking for protection.

Witnesses said that the Army had literally "cleaned up" the streets of Kano. No dead bodies were to be seen and the shells of burned-out vehicles had disappeared by Wednesday morning.

But the signs of rioting remained fresh, with the ruins of several churches and mosques still smoking.

Dozens of houses and two service stations have also been burned, and buildings housing airline offices and other businesses have been wrecked along Airport Road where the riots initially began.

The Army command appears to be seeking to prevent any new eruption of violence on Friday, [18 October] which is the Muslim day of prayer and has been a source in the past of mob action in this capital of Nigeria's Muslim north.

According to rumours circulating in Kano, top military figures were believed to have arrived in the town Tuesday.

The German evangelical Reinhard Bonnke whose arrival in Kano sparked the trouble, was unable to hold a meeting he had planned for Tuesday night. According to witnesses, he was believed still to be in Kano under the protection of the state authorities.

## Togo

### Ministers Brief Press on Situation in Lome

AB1210212491 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche  
Network in French 1230 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] The insecurity prevailing of late in our capital has created a general atmosphere of fear. At night the streets are deserted. Nightclubs and other entertainment spots are empty. Some districts have become unsafe to visit as soon as night falls. In response to this prevailing state of insecurity and fear in Lome in the aftermath of the coup attempts of 1 October and 8 October—followed by

looting and violence—Mr. Kokouvi Masseme, minister of territorial administration and security, and Mr. Boona Ketehouli, minister of communications and culture, yesterday granted an interview to the Togolese press.

In this interview, the two ministers appealed to residents to remain calm and go about their normal business with serenity. Our foreign brothers living in our midst are urged to have confidence in the transition institutions in bringing about genuine democracy and the rule of law in Togo. Each and every one is advised to be wary of rumormongering, which often leads to misunderstandings.

Regarding the existence of a group that may fear democracy, the two ministers stressed the political system of the country enables all sections of society to express themselves freely and make their contribution to nation building in a harmonious and brotherly manner. This democracy should indeed enable the Togolese people to shun rumors and settle down seriously to work. Measures are being taken to stop the insecurity and fear now prevailing in our capital.

### Koffigoh Establishes Constitutional Commission

AB1510121591 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche  
Network in French 0615 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Mr. Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, head of the transition government, yesterday evening signed several nomination decrees, including the one establishing a Constitutional Commission. Kofi Yelim has the report:

[Yelim] By a decree signed by the prime minister, a Constitutional Commission is created in conformity with Act No. 13 of the sovereign national conference.

The following people are designated as members of the Constitutional Commission: (Ajavon Meton Ho), law professor at the University of Benin; Kofi Jacques Akpalu, magistrate; Mrs. (Sylvia Akpere Lerou), professor; Cyprien Ledzo, law professor at the University of Benin; Djaba Kofan, magistrate; Mrs. Kotra Pena, law professor at the University of Benin; (Macinan Kalukpi), law professor at the University of Benin; Mrs. (Messan Totuo), tax administrator; Mrs. (Nanan Awa), magistrate; (Beby Lucien Olympio), lawyer; (Gerard Kokaram), law professor at the University of Benin; (Paulo Areba), magistrate; (Alfred Toagbe Touamesima), law professor at the University of Benin; (Vignon Yao), law professor at the University of Benin; (Bonaventure Gnakla), civil administrator. [passage omitted]

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